THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 109, NO. 24 NEW YORK, MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1943 NUMBER 1515

Four Men Reshape the World

THE BRAVE NEW WORLD, which the reactionaries always ridicule liberals for expecting, was not shaped at Cairo and Teheran: but if some sort of new world ever does get shaped, the meetings of the four great United Nations leaders will count for as much in its creation as anything that has happened. The people who say that only battles count, and that conferences never won a war, utter a dangerous half-truth. Battles can become a senseless slaughter if they are not coördinated; the enemy can win more by dividing his opponents than by shooting them; and wars that are won on the battlefield can be lost again in the bleak stretches of the old diplomacy.

The great and shining achievement at Cairo and Teheran was a meeting of minds of the four leaders. To the dismay of our enemies abroad and at home, the United Nations are now a solid front. This may save a million deaths on the battlefield, and a decade of waste and confusion in the peace.

All four of the men who took part in the conferences—Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek—have earned the gratitude of the free people of the world. But it is clear that if primacy in this gratitude belongs to anyone, it is to President Roosevelt. His was the shaping conception, his the initiative that brought the men together, his the genius for compromise that kept them in the channel of the main chance while avoiding the shoals and rocks of their differences.

It is now clear that the Moscow Pact, in the making of which Secretary Hull acted with a realism and a vision unexampled in the State Department annals, was in reality Roosevelt's triumph even more than Hull's. It was part of Roosevelt's master plan for the last stages of the war and the first stages of the peace. In fact, the meetings at Moscow, Cairo and Teheran are best seen not as separate conferences, but as successive phases of a single plan for unified action.

The best way to assess the importance of this plan is to calculate what might have happened if the plan had not been shaped, and what may happen yet if for any reason it is not carried out.

Let us put it in terms of the dangers that the Allies faced in such an event. First, there was the danger of a separate peace by any of the big Allied powers, or of separate terms of the enemy's surrender drawn up without consulting the other Allies. Second, there was the danger that the attack on the enemy would not be concentrated and coördinated, and the enemy thus escape the full strength of a coalition war. Third, there was the danger that even after defeat the Germans and the Japanese would be able to drive the kind of peace bargain that would enable them to rise once more, like malignant and destructive phoenixes, from the ashes of their defeat. Fourth, there was the danger that the Great Powers would all have different plans for the kind of postwar governments that would be established in Europe, the Near East and the Far East, and that the result would be a succession of civil wars. Fifth, there was the danger that the Great Powers would allow their divergent views about boundaries, trade, empire, spheres of influence, to blot out their common interests and common stake in the future.

Think of what it would have meant to hundreds of millions of people all over the world, and to un-

CONTENTS

Four Men Reshape the World 835

The Week 837

Editorial

Three Bars to Inflation 839

General Articles

Eric Johnston . . . . . George Soule 841

The OWI and Its Critics . . Kenneth Stewart 844

Foreign Labor in Germany . Heinz H. F. Eulau 846

The Fire Insurance Scandal . Carroll Kilpatrick 848

Saroyan and Smith . . . . . Stark Young 851

Heaven, American Style . . . Manny Farber 851

The Bandwagon 853

Correspondence 853

Books in Review

Rediscovery of America . Kenneth MacGowan 855

"Theoretic Blight" . . . Ben B. Seligman 856

Notable Books: 1943 857

From the Still Center . . John Hyde Preston 859

A Reader's List 862

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1943, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

born hundreds of millions more, if these dangers had not been met and conquered. To meet them there was need for united action, decisive action, immediate action. The answer was given at Moscow, at Cairo, and supremely at Teheran.

First of all, with those conferences the hopes that Hitler and Tojo and their henchmen still nurtured for some sort of negotiated peace have gone glimmering. The vicious talk of McCormick and Hearst about a separate peace between Russia and Germany is no longer possible. The fear that the long exhaustion of China, her lack of arms and food, might lead to the triumph of the fascist elements within her, has now also been minimized. There is now no surrender possible for the enemy except unconditional surrender, on terms agreed to by all the Allies.

That the enemy faces surrender is now also clearer than ever. The Cairo communiqué, devoted to the questions of the Far East, ended with a recognition that "serious and prolonged operations" would be needed to defeat Japan. But some of those operations have already been set in motion, and the rest will follow as soon as the full force of America, Britain and Russia can be released from the European war. And as for the German enemy, the Teheran communiqué reports, with a terseness that bodes ill for Hitler, that the military staffs of the three powers have decided upon "the scope and timing of operations which will be undertaken from East, West and South."

This can only mean that the much mooted question of the opening of a second front has already been decided to the satisfaction of the Russians, as well as of the British and American generals. It can only mean that a supreme military commander for the invasion of the Continent, no doubt General Marshall, has been selected, that he will have Russian as well as British officers on his staff to aid him with their experience in out-guessing and out-maneuvering Hitler's generals, and that the great supply and transport problems are within reach of being surmounted. It can only mean that Allied bases in the Near East will be available for harassing the Germans from the air in southern Russia, and that bases in western Russia will be available to our fliers in order to rain death on Nazi industrial targets in Germany and the Balkans. "No power on earth," the Teheran communiqué promises, "can prevent our destroying the German armies by land, their U-boats by sea and their war plants from the air." Thus the bell tolls out Hitler's vauntings and his savagery.

It tolls out also all hope, cherished by the war lords of Japan and Germany, that even a defeat in this war will be only an interlude in their unquenchable struggle to make the world fascist and bestial. The Japanese have been boasting that this is a Hundred Years' War, and that any temporary peace will mean to them only a chance to rebuild their armies and navies, and launch another and greater attack when the time comes. The Cairo conference has dealt a death-blow to that hope by promising to strip Japan back to the land and the natural resources she had before World War I, and even before the turn of the century. This means the end of the Japanese empire, and the end of the empire means the end of the danger of a new thrust at world power by Japan. For without her islands and bases in the Pacific, without Korea and Manchukuo, without the rich resources of the lands Japan has taken by conquest, the Japanese will-to-aggression has no naval, military or industrial base. Recent students of the Japanese mind have pointed out that the Japanese boy grows up with a contempt for all women and for women's pacific methods, that he is taught to respect only force and ruthlessness, and that this trait, more than any other, shapes the character of the Japanese ruling class. For the first time we have now spoken to the Japanese in accents they can understand and respect. We have turned from pleading and appeasement to a drastic commitment of ruthless action which can finally bring only fear and submission from them.

The decision on the terms for Germany, which was expected from the Teheran conference, was not announced. No doubt it awaits the pace and success of our military actions against the *Festung-Europa*. The problems of political and psychological warfare, to undercut Hitler's power in Germany and the German will to fight, are more complex than in the case of Japan. We must show firmness and strength. But we must give the German people a sense that they have an alternative that is better than a fight to the end in blind obedience to Hitler and craven fear of Himmler.

Let us not allow our hopes to run away with us: Teheran, like Moscow and Cairo, is only a beginning. It is a sketch of the future that needs to be filled out, a plan of action that needs implementing by action. There will be divergencies and frictions aplenty. Nothing was said in the Cairo communiqué, for example, about Hong Kong and the role that the British will play in it after the war. Nothing was said about Dutch imperialism in the East Indies. Nothing was said about how America would get the bases she needs in the Pacific in order to feel secure. Above all, nothing was said about the menacing shadow of the Indian problem. Nothing was said in the Teheran communiqué about the Russian boundaries on the west and southwest. Nothing was said about such questions as that of Yugoslavia, where the Liberation Front has formed a new government under Doctor Ivan Ribar and General Tito that challenges the government of King Peter. One must assume that these questions and others like them will be left to the European Advisory Commission, and to later meetings of the Big Four. It was the beginning of wisdom to establish a common understanding first. With it, no problem can split United Nations unity. Without it, even the slightest problem

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could—in an emotionally surcharged atmosphere—wreck both the war and the peace.

For the fact is that, while no specific decisions have been announced about the composition of the new governments of Europe, the general principles have been agreed on. Into the concert of nations are to be admitted "all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and in mind are dedicated, as are our own peoples, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance." Thus the Teheran communiqué. The terms are general, but their meaning is unmistakable for every fascist ruling clique in the world, from Germany to Japan, from Franco's Spain to the puppet government of Manchukuo, from Finland to the Argentine. "We will welcome them as they may choose to come into a world family of democratic nations"—and the word to emphasize here is "democratic."

Many will object that the small nations were not represented at these conferences, and the objection has a certain force. But before a military victory is possible, and before a framework can be created within which the small nations can function, it is necessary for the big nations to agree on their aims and to prevent their differences from wrecking these aims. Versailles had the small nations all represented, but the fact that they were there did not make it an effective peace. The beginning of wisdom in peace as in war is a meeting of minds of those powers which embody the overwhelming potential force, the resources, the prestige of the world structure. That beginning has now been made.

It has been made primarily by four men. One stands for a gallant Tory militancy in the face of fascism, a second for a conservative nationalism emerging out of feudal anarchy, a third for a stable socialism that has learned the values of nationalism without abandoning the international outlook, the fourth for a militant progressivism once embodied in the New Deal and now extended to the international scene. In these four men are united all principles of economic and social organization and all shades of political opinion that are compatible with a free world community.

These four men are shaping the world to come—not alone, for leaders can do nothing without their peoples—with a leadership that gives direction to their peoples. More than any calculable influence that these conferences will have is the incalculable psychological effect they will have on democratic peoples all over the world. For they show that the leaders of the peoples' governments of the great United Nations are vigorous, mobile, bold and decisive men. Each is a striking person in his own right, yet they have learned to like and get along with one another. "We came here," the Teheran communiqué ends, "with hope and determination. We leave here friends in fact, in spirit and in purpose."

Thus the bell that tolls out the world of Hitler and Tojo rings in the world of a possible democratic future. It rings in a world not perfect but livable, not certain but now clearly approaching, for which the masses of common men have fought and hoped.

Disfranchising the Soldiers

Returning soldiers after the last war complained that the politicians during their absence had deprived them of the right to drink; this time, if the soldiers' voting bill passed by the Senate becomes law, they will have the far more substantial grievance that Congress has deprived them of the right to vote in a presidential election which may decide the future for which they are fighting.

The Green-Lucas bill for federal administration of a simplified ballot system would have been a workable method of permitting them to vote in 1944 while in the field of action. The Senate passed, 42 to 37, a substitute proposal which would keep the jurisdiction as to balloting under the several states, whose laws for absentee voting were not adopted for any such contingency. Seven states do not provide for absentee votes in their primaries. Three more do not permit any absentee votes from overseas. Most states require that each absentee voter apply by mail for a ballot; eleven allow only twenty days or less between the time the application is received and the time the absentee ballot arrives for counting. Thirty-three states allow only thirty days or less for this operation. There are other barriers. Only 27,000 soldiers cast valid ballots under the similar 1942 law. While the Senate recommended that the states ease these provisions, Sen. Alben Barkley correctly stated that this was like "a pious resolution approved by a ladies' aid society."

Why Soldiers' Votes Are Feared

The excuse for the Senate bill which in effect disfranchises the soldiers, sponsored by Eastland of Mississippi, McKellar of Tennessee and McClelland of Arkansas, was that federal control would violate constitutional provisions for state jurisdiction over voting. The real reasons, however, are different, as private conversations with Senators have amply revealed. Reactionary Southern Democrats feared that a simplified law would upset the poll-tax provisions of their states, which disfranchise thousands of citizens who might vote them out of power. Republicans feared that the soldiers would return a majority for the administration. Many polls have revealed that the New Deal derived its main strength from younger voters; a recent Gallup estimate is that the armed forces are 61-percent Democratic.

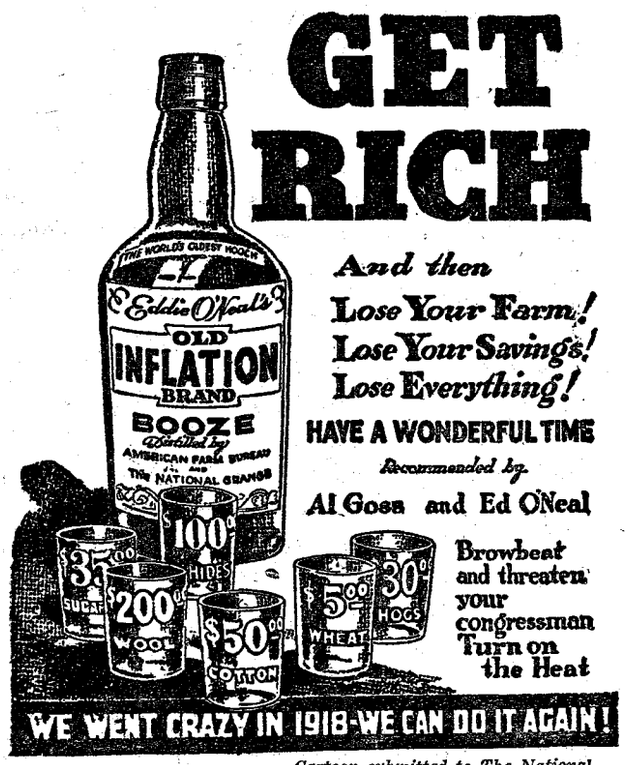
It is worth bearing in mind that the recent Republican victories at the polls have accompanied the absence of millions of young men and women in the service of their country, and the Republican politicians are bearing it in mind. This "unholy alliance in Congress," as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senator Guffey terms it, is the same one which has played politics with the war at every turn, the same which has done its best to upset price control and has barred sufficient taxation. An election won by disfranchising up to 10,000,000 citizens, who though willing to die for their country are apparently not regarded as having the right to vote for its government, might tempt returning soldiers to protest by other than democratic methods. Even if the Senate bill does not become law, this is a unique opportunity for the soldiers to learn who their enemies and the enemies of democracy are.

Bungled Press Arrangements

Two of the most important news stories of the whole war, the meetings at Cairo and Teheran, were handled about as badly as possible. The Cairo story was broken in a dispatch by Reuter's from Lisbon, and the Teheran meeting was announced prematurely on the radio from Moscow. Elmer Davis and the American press and radio are indignant, and with good reason. They obeyed orders, and were penalized for being good soldiers. We hope that in the future arrangements can be made to have a clearly defined policy and stick to it. Either public mention of a conference should be forbidden, as was the case at Casablanca, or it should be announced in advance, as was done with the Quebec and Moscow gatherings. Doubtless it is almost impossible to keep news of a conference away from Axis spies, though this was seemingly accomplished at Casablanca, and on a few other occasions; but the moral value of such meetings as psychological warfare is almost as important as their military usefulness. That moral value is greatly diminished, if indeed it is not destroyed, by the sort of bungling that was seen at Cairo and Teheran.



Cartoon submitted to The National Union Farmer by a reader

Jersey Injustice

John R. Longo, who has spent many years fighting Mayor Frank Hague, has again fallen foul of Jersey City justice. Accused of falsifying his voting record, Longo has been sentenced to serve from eighteen months to three years in prison—a rather heavy punishment even were he guilty of the charge. That he is not guilty is a distinct possibility, since Gov. Charles Edison supports the counter-charge of Longo's attorney, that the report of a handwriting expert who claims the voting record was not altered was suppressed by the prosecutor's office. The City Affairs Committee of Jersey City has cited the Longo case in a petition to Attorney General Biddle for a federal investigation of what it holds to be "a persistent pattern of the suppresssion of civil rights in Hudson County in violation of the federal Criminal Code." In the light of the evidence submitted by the committee and Governor Edison, we do not see how Mr. Biddle can fail to act at once.

Next Year's Taxes

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau Jr. and his General Counsel, Randolph Paul, presented their $10,500,000,000 tax program to the Senate Finance Committee the other day with as much force and determination as though they had never been kicked in the teeth by an obstreperous House. Morgenthau bluntly warned the Senate committee that the $2,047,000,000 program passed by the House "falls far short even of an attempt to meet our fiscal needs in a realistic or courageous way." The Treasury's program represents the very minimum possible if we are to safeguard our economic future, and any contention that the people cannot stand the taxes called for in the Treasury program is simply not true, Morgenthau said. He showed up the deficiencies and loopholes in the House bill in detail. Randolph Paul gave the sales-tax proposal a real going over, emphasizing its inadequacies as a revenue-raiser and the inequality of the burden such a tax would place on low-income families.

Despite these arguments and the strong demand by eight national organizations for drastic revision of the House tax bill, the Senate Committee under Chairman Walter George appears unmoved. There is a possibility that the unworkable substitute for the Victory Tax in the House program may be changed, but unless stronger pressures are brought on the Senate by the taxpayers to levy higher and more drastic taxes, there is little possibility that the Senate will increase the House figures. The only enthusiasm the Senate has been able to arouse is for a sales tax. Even the Great Economizer Harry Byrd approves this sort of soak-the-poor levy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Subsidy Fight

Since the subsidy fight got under way, enough people have raised enough ruckus so that Senators and Representatives have at last realized that there is a pro-subsidy bloc of voters with whom they must contend. So many letters, postcards, wires and phone calls have deluged most congressmen that they are beginning to wonder on which side their bread is buttered.

Good and strong though this reaction has been, it is still not enough to persuade those congressmen who all along had planned to vote for inflation. The opposition is still far from caving in and even has plans for a compromise proposal after the President shall have vetoed this bill. Sen. Robert Taft has a plan in the works which would approve subsidies for a limited number of specific commodity items. But the Taft compromise is completely unsatisfactory. It would not halt the inflationary spiral.

CIO President Philip Murray made the clearest statement to Congress yet given on the subsidy question: "The food subsidy . . . is emphatically not an issue between city and country, or between farmer and industrial worker, as some of the spokesmen for special interests would have us believe. Runaway prices do not affect the city-dweller alone or the industrial worker alone. They affect every family in the nation. They affect our government, which now purchases the largest part of our national output for use in the war and which would be forced to pay the increased prices on its purchases for military and other purposes."

Demobilization

Congress now has before it a program for demobilization security for the men and women of our armed forces, from President Roosevelt. His three-point recommendation for action to Congress was based on the report of a special Postwar Readjustment Committee he has had at work for many months. The President called for muster-out pay on a monthly basis, unemployment payments for those who do not get jobs before their muster-out pay stops, and Social Security credits for time in the service.

Almost immediately, a series of bills was introduced into both houses of Congress to make these proposals law. Senators Wagner, George and Clark, of Missouri, and Representative Doughton introduced identical bills providing $15 to $25-a-week unemployment compensation to servicemen, depending on the number of dependents, if they are without a job during the first fifteen months after leaving the service, and Social Security credits, based on pay of $160 per month, for time spent in the service. Senator Barkley and Representative May introduced identical bills providing muster-out pay of $300 on leaving the service.

When the President sent his message on demobilization to Congress he pointed out that "this time we must have plans and legislation ready for our returning veterans instead of waiting until the last moment." It is good that suitable legislation has been introduced so promptly. Prompt passage of it should give a boost to fighting morale.

Good Men in the CIO

In several recent appointments to its staff, the Congress of Industrial Organizations has shown good judgment. The selection of Donald Montgomery, former consumers' counsel in the Department of Agriculture, as consumers' representative for the United Auto Workers, and the naming of J. Raymond Walsh to the job of Research Director for the whole CIO, definitely showed a tendency to pick technically competent and experienced men for the top professional jobs where such men have been needed for so long a time. Now the appointment of C. B. Baldwin as first assistant to Sidney Hillman in the CIO political-action committee is more good news for the same reasons. Until recently Baldwin was Farm Security Administrator, and in that job he had every chance to learn about politics the hard way, by having the most experienced and most reactionary members of Congress try all their tricks and pressures to throw him out of his job and his agency out of the window. As a "reconstructed Southerner," he comes to his job with a knowledge of that difficult section of the country, so little understood by most top labor officials. Now it has been announced that Baldwin is to have a first-rate colleague in Raymond McKeough, former New Deal Representative from Illinois. We wish them luck in as tough a job, in as tough a political time, as has been faced in recent years.

Three Bars to Inflation

IT WAS SOMETIMES SAID after the last war that this was a nation of economic illiterates. Since then, partly as a result of bitter experience, the American people have for the most part mastered their economic ABC's. But judging from the way the members of Congress have been dealing with the price problem, they either have not attended kindergarten, or were congenitally defective. It therefore may be worth while to state once more, in the most elementary language, what stimulates inflation and how it may be fought.

Lesson No. 1.– When demand is greater than supply, prices tend to rise. This tendency continues as long as demand exceeds supply, no matter how high prices may go. The demand for consumers' goods consists of the money which consumers have, and are willing to spend for those goods. The supply of consumers' goods consists of the quantity that is on hand or can be made. A war economy favors inflation because (a) the expended production of military supplies distributes a larger amount of money to wage-earners, farmers and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

owners of business, while (b) the amount of goods that can be sold to civilians is strictly limited by the amount of labor and materials that can be devoted to making these goods.

In an inflationary price rise, increases in wage rates usually lag behind increases in prices and the cost of living. The danger from higher wage rates is therefore only to a minor degree that they increase costs of production. "High labor costs" almost never produce inflation, though the earnings from full employment are an important factor in demand.

Lesson No. 2. – Legal price control is one weapon against war inflation. It cannot succeed unless accompanied by rationing. When prices are allowed to rise, the limited supply of goods is automatically rationed, because those who can afford to pay the most, or can get to the markets first, or resort to hoarding, get all the goods and others have to go without. This results in unfair distribution and interferes with war efficiency. Deliberate rationing is a necessary substitute, if prices are to be held down.

Legal price control is also ineffective unless it is applied to virtually every commodity of which there is a shortage, since prices increases tend to spread. And it must be applied all the way from retail distribution back to the producer. We cannot allow the farmer to receive more for his wheat, steers, milk or eggs and then expect them not to cost more at retail, unless some other device besides ceiling prices is employed. The present rise in the cost of living is largely attributable to increases in the cost of food, and these in turn have occurred largely because Congress allowed no ceiling price to be placed on farm products below an arbitrary level set by law. Congress and the farm bloc are therefore directly responsible for the major part of the present rise in living costs.

Price control alone is insufficient so long as a great excess of purchasing power persists. People with plenty of money will try to buy what they want even if they have to buy it above the legal price. Thus the black-market problem becomes increasingly serious unless price control is supplemented by other measures.

Lesson No. 3. – Subsidies are a means of limiting the effects of price rises which are in themselves unavoidable or perhaps desirable. Thus, if Congress decrees that farmers must be paid not less than a certain price for beef, the payment of a subsidy by the government may prevent part of that price from being passed on to the consumer. This may enable people to consume an adequate quantity of beef who otherwise could not afford it. More important, from the point of view of avoiding inflation, the subsidy prevents the advance in the price of beef from being passed on through higher living costs to higher wages and higher prices for everything else that the government and individual consumers buy.

Congress and the farm bloc, by opposing the subsidies already being paid, are not protecting the prices now received by farmers. They are merely trying to raise the prices paid by consumers in such a way as to stimulate inflation. In doing so they are not serving the farmers' interest, but are benefiting only those who want quick profits at the expense of the community.

Lesson No. 4. – The necessary basis for all other anti-inflationary devices is a fiscal policy which will get out of the pockets of consumers as much as possible of the money they cannot spend without creating a demand in excess of supply, and which will get this money into the hands of the government. The government is spending an equivalent amount of money for war purposes and must get it from the banks if it cannot get it from the citizens.

The best way to transfer this money from where it should not be to where it should be is by imposing the requisite taxes. The next best way is by sales of war bonds to individuals. In practice, both methods have to be used. The Treasury, after estimating the largest probable sales of war bonds, has informed Congress that in order to close the inflationary gap it should increase taxes by at least $10,500,000,000. Most good economists consider this amount too small. Congress is now in process of passing a bill for one-fifth that amount. It is playing the cheap politics of being soft on taxpayers in the hope that when all of us later suffer from inflation, we shall blame the administration.

As a matter of fact, the majority which controls the vote of Congress is directly responsible for the rises in the cost of living which we have already experienced, and will be responsible for more severe inflation if it comes. This majority has hampered and badgered price control, has opposed subsidies and has failed to tax. It is composed mainly of anti-administration Southern Democrats and the bulk of the Republicans. Soldiers who come back to an inflation-strained economy should remember who their enemies at home have been. Names will be furnished at the appropriate time.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, MALCOLM COWLEY, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Managing Editor: THOMAS SANCTON

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, ISAAC ROSENFELD

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, VAN WYCK BROOKS, VARIAN FRY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Eric Johnston

Knight-Errant of Main Street

THERE IS A RUMOR that after the favorites have run their race in the Republican National Convention, Eric Johnston of Spokane, Washington, will suddenly appear on the track and flash across the line a dark-horse winner. He is more often mentioned as a possibility in the private conversation of the tipsters than any other newcomer to the political turf.

His qualification, not necessarily for the office but for the campaign, may be hinted by the fact that although he is president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, now serving his second term, I first heard an enthusiastic nomination of him for chief executive from the lips of a prominent union official—one who in the past has worked hard for the election of Mr. Roosevelt. This does not mean that he is a fifth-columnist for labor in the ranks of employers. Business men, particularly the Main Street kind of business men who make up the rank and file of the Chamber of Commerce, have not for years had so able a champion. Rather it means a number of other things, among which are that he acts like a sincere democrat, that he has a warm and positive personality, and that he states the case of business in such a way as to make it attractive rather than to arouse suspicion and hatred.

Compared with the popular image of the business figurehead, Mr. Johnston is like the latest streamlined dive-bomber alongside an ancient and bulgy Pierce-Arrow. He is not heavy-jowled, paunchy, fish-eyed, cautious, stuffy, overbearing, tired or combative. He is lean, direct, easy and skillful. He made a first entrance on the national scene when, after being elected president of the Chamber, he immediately made a friendly call on President Roosevelt, and then went to see President Green of the AFL and President Murray of the CIO. There is no stupendous achievement in this; thousands of others have paid their respects to these gentlemen. But Mr. Johnston extracted every possible bit of drama from the fact that this was his first official act as leader of a clan which had in recent years acted as if that were the last thing in the world its spokesmen would be expected to do.

He did not stop with this symbolic gesture. He circulated freely about Washington, disarming people as he went. To some it was important that he was a typically American product of a newer business generation, being a graduate of the University of Washington and a captain of Marines in the last war. Others were impressed by the fact that he had had an engineering training and had worked successfully in other countries: though American, he was not provincial. Those who had doubts that he could be a genuine business man were reassured by the information that at 46 he had become head of three successful, independent concerns—the Brown-Johnston Company, the Columbia Electric and Manufacturing Company, the Washington Brick, Lime and Cement Company. In this he was unlike Wendell Willkie, who as a champion of business got into it by way of the law, and started at the top in a giant utility holding corporation. He was the living embodiment of private enterprise, opportunity, room-at-the-top and all the rest of the often repeated but sometimes querulous litany. Labor men in turn were reassured by the information that he believes in unions and has good relations with them without having to be bludgeoned into it.

In an article written for and featured by The Reader's Digest, Eric Johnston came right out for capitalism. This sounds a little sensational, in an era when other defenders of the established order are resorting to mealy-mouthed phrases like "the private-enterprise system" and "the American way of life"—phrases which Mr. Johnston gently derides. Capitalism, he says, is the right word, since if our economy is to flourish, capital must be put to work in production. He quotes Mr. Justice Brandeis, who told a labor meeting that for their own sakes the businesses for which they worked must be profitable.

But he is just as flat-footed in telling employers that if capitalism gives way, it will be in large part the fault of business. The WPA was established, he points out to them, because business was not giving full employment. "No American President will ever again permit Americans to be unemployed." He urges business to stop whining and organize to do its job. "We will stop railing at the government. We will start outthinking it and outdoing it and outstripping it." On another occasion he reminded an audience that the "profit system" is really a "profit and loss system" and warned them that business has too great a tendency to seek security at the cost of opportunity. "The alternative to risk-taking is government investment, which leads in turn to state socialism." He is against monopoly; the only good preventive of socialism is competition. When an advocate of capitalism talks that way, he is talking of the kind of capitalism economists favor when they support it; he is an honest advocate. Most protagonists of "private enterprise" magnify the private and forget the enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He used the same technique of shocking frankness in his recent visit to England, though with good-humored wit. His idea was that just as it does labor relations no good to pretend that business is not for profit, it will do Anglo-American relations no good to pretend that Americans and Britishers are just alike. Mr. Churchill, he said, was "certainly one of the most popular British Prime Ministers that America has ever had." He went on, "For centuries many countries have tried to make you less British. We have even tried to do it by marrying into Britain. But what is the result? Right out of an intermarriage with an American you today have the most British Prime Minister of your whole history."

Britishers cannot make Englishmen out of Americans, either. It is interesting to see what he thinks Americans are like, since that is obviously what he believes he is like. The average American has an "unshakable conviction that out of many races our country has made a new race. This means that we and you ought to put a stop to all palaver about how blood is thicker than water and the fact that Shakespeare wrote 'Hamlet' in the English language." It is important to remember that "we are a nation of ebullient localities, and of sections which have a sort of intramural patriotism of their own." Our banks, newspapers and radio stations are far less centralized than the British. While Britain has a single sovereign government, sovereignty in the United States remains with the people—except that which they delegate to government—and what they have given, they can take away. The result is that the American resents "all centralized dominance in *any* field," and "is forever conducting crusades to break down private monopolies and public bureaucracies alike." And "what this American is in America, he will also be in international affairs."

All this sounds as if it might lead to a McCormickian isolationism. It does not. "This war has taught Americans that the ramparts we watch no longer terminate at the water's edge." Though coöperation with Britain will not solve everything, we need "intimate friendship and intense coöperation." That coöperation must not be based, however, on racial sentimentality. Another thing it cannot be based upon is "any system of world-wide cartels. Our law is unsympathetic toward it and our temperament is hostile toward it. The average American would call it economic imperialism, and he is against it." Finally, we cannot coöperate on the basis of political imperialism. "We are in full retreat from the political imperialism into which we were plunged by the Spanish American War and President McKinley, and the average American has no ambition whatsoever to return to it." We do not venture to tell the British what to do with their empire, but we want no part in it.

How, then, can the two nations coöperate? "The normal American is a natural boomer and booster; and this boosting quality can be turned in an international direction. In fact there is in America already great interest in seeing what can be done to build up the earning power, and consequently the buying power, of those regions of the world where today local buying power is scanty." Britain can help in this because of her greater experience in international trade and her commercial outposts all over the world. We can help because we shall have a big surplus of capital, plus technical and managerial skill. The purpose is to build up the industries and purchasing power of Latin America, China and other regions, with the participation of as much native capital and skill as can be enlisted. The purpose is to transform these countries "from economic colonies to countries with economic independence."

"I do not fear this kind of talk. I welcome it. The further a country progresses from economic backwardness to economic forwardness, the more it will buy." In another place, answering radio questions to an American audience, Mr. Johnston talks about this aim much as a trained economist might. We are a creditor nation: we must be prepared to accept more imports. Our tariffs should be gradually lowered. This will mean we can sell, not less, but more. As to the effect on American employment and wages, we need not fear, because "America produces more per man-hour than do many other portions of the world." And "as people gradually improve their standard of living, they produce more per man-hour, their wages are higher, and we find ourselves in somewhat the same competitive position that we were before."

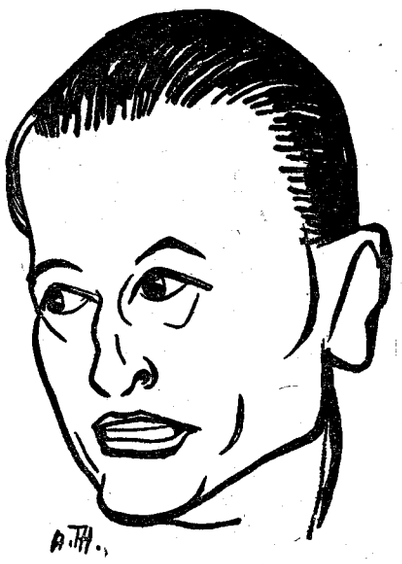
Mr. Johnston talks in matter-of-fact Americanese when he visualizes a "bigger and better Chungking, or Teheran," with "people owning their own homes, buying more refrigerators and farm tools." Has all this anything to do with peace? "I say it has everything to do with peace. Behind the concept of a bigger and better home town there is a vision somehow toward a good country—and ultimately, somehow, a good world."

A parting shot in Britain made British labor resentful. "The capital employed shall be *private* capital, *free* capital, *competitive* capital." British labor is socialist; it does not believe that capital should be private or competitive. Neither, it may be noted, do the Russians, or numerous others with whom coöperation will be necessary. One wonders, in spite of Mr. Johnston's admirable aims, just how his Main Street capitalism is going to function in a largely socialized world.

It is clear that by competitive capitalism Mr. Johnston does not mean cutthroat competition in the labor market. He thinks of labor not only as producer but also as customer, and believes that the greatest stimulus to postwar business will come at home, with the chance of providing underprivileged people with a decent standard of living.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nor is he so dogmatic an exponent of laissez-faire as to exclude government from the task. He is for public works to stimulate employment, for instance. How big a program? "Only such as is essential to give reasonably full employment if industry cannot absorb the men." The part of government should be larger or smaller, according to the necessities of the situation. Though he stands for a permanent policy of a minimum of government regulation and control, he adds the significant phrase, "consistent with the period through which we are going." Foreign capital will be attracted only where there is political stability and a reasonable chance of return. Therefore, in war-torn regions, "there will be much government investment and much government regulation." Business cannot do the domestic job alone. It must cooperate with labor, agriculture and government. In response to direct questions from Presidents Green and Murray, he stated, "If private industry can't supply employment at reasonable wages, of course government will." One of the most important things government should do, in his opinion, is to install a system of incentive taxation on business, to encourage capital ventured in production and, presumably, to discourage non-productive uses of savings.



He is not so much afraid of an immediate postwar depression as of a postwar boom. We shall have five favorable conditions: a great, modern plant capacity, an unprecedented number of trained employees, access to plenty of raw materials, a tremendous pent-up demand for what these plants and people can make, and money with which to make the purchases. "The problem is to so order our economy in this period of high productivity and high employment that we can continue it when the pent-up demand for goods has been filled." In this attitude, most competent students would agree with him. He has no magic confidence that if we let things alone, we shall have neither the dangerous boom nor a consequent depression. To the direct question whether, on the basis of what he has seen of postwar planning in this country, we can avoid them, he answers frankly, "Honestly, I don't know; but I do realize that America is awake to the problems of this postwar period. I am very hopeful that we will be able to control this boom."

Mr. Johnston obviously does not sound like a candidate. Perhaps it is because he does not spread the odor of the traditional politician that a number of his acquaintances would like to see him running things. The unique attribute which has made him a striking and successful figure so far, however, is that he is, almost alone among his kind, a business man without an inferiority complex. American business lost confidence in itself during the depression; it bears the scars of many attacks; as a rule it is either apologetic and seeks to go about in a disguise or overreacts with voluble fears and hatreds of supposed enemies. There is not a trace of the paranoid in Mr. Johnston. He not only is a defender of capitalism, but he unaffectedly believes in the pesky thing. He is so secure about it that he is perfectly willing to talk reasonably with those who have doubts and to consider possible improvements. If our Main Street culture is happy and successful, why should we not expect it to guide our way in the future and should we not try to spread it over the wide world? Yet to those who had begun to lose faith in it, Mr. Johnston looks like a veritable knight-errant.

Most of us would agree in principle with his thesis that private business should be encouraged to do what it can to achieve the aims which he sets forth. But many would disagree with his faith that it can do so. Unkind as it may seem to put embarrassing questions to so likable an advocate, we would urge him to do a little more thinking. Does American capitalism really behave like a truly competitive system? If it is one, how does he account for the depression and unemployment of recent years? If it is not altogether competitive, in spite of the anti-trust laws and the hatred of the average American for monopoly, how does he propose to make it so? Granted that full use of our productive facilities after the war could maintain reasonable employment and raise our standards of living, what assurance is there that in some important areas output will not be restricted in the interest of larger unit profits or in fear that sufficient consumers' purchasing power will not exist?

And if real competition is restored, how is a competitive regime to avoid wasteful exploitation of natural resources, the skinning of the soil with its mineral deposits, its forests and watersheds? How are we intelligently to develop those great local regions whose inhabitants like to regard them as empires, though many of them have been subjected to a colonial economy by the financial and industrial centers of power? Could private enterprise, for instance, have brought about the common-sense achievements of a Tennessee Valley Authority?

To anyone who should ask me whether I favored Mr. Johnston for President, I should unhesitatingly answer no. That is not because he is not head and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shoulders above most of the likely Republican candidates. It is because his place is unmistakably where he is. We ought to have a President of the United States who believes in government and a president of the Chamber of Commerce who believes in commerce. Mr. Johnston ought not to be the head of anything which he thinks should do as little as possible, and then should do it only after waiting to see whether someone else can do it. Such a role would not suit his talents; he would be unhappy in it. He ought to be where he can help business to "outthink and outstrip" government. We ought to have a President who would say to him: "Good luck! I'll do anything I can, in the public interest, to help you. But just in case you don't succeed, I am going to try to have a government which will outthink and outstrip business. We both have the same objectives, and if two of us go after it, the chances of the people are better than if only one of us does. After all, didn't you say you believe in competition?"

GEORGE SOULE

The OWI and Its Critics

ELMER DAVIS, Director of the Office of War Information, charged not long ago before the Overseas Press Club in New York that "fantastic fictions" were being spread about the OWI—its policies, practices and personnel—by "small-time fascists crawling in and out of the woodwork just beyond the reach of indictment."

Davis suggested that the revival of hostile stories might "perhaps be only coincidental with the fact that we have asked Congress for an appropriation of $5,000,000 for the overseas branch." Since then the House has granted the appropriation, but only after an amendment by Rep. John Taber of New York to cut it to $1,000,000 failed by seven votes.

Now, the OWI has a tremendous job to do, as anybody at all familiar with the role of propaganda and psychological processes in modern warfare must recognize. Whenever it has to ask for funds to continue or expand its work, a good part of the attention and time of its staff is turned to collecting documentation to refute attacks that are often irresponsible, unfounded and malicious. Yet these attacks must be answered, for Hitler's technique has taught that the monstrous lie, repeated often enough, gains the force of truth. The OWI has made some mistakes and admits it; it also is forced to bear the burden of mistakes it has not made.

Many of the attacks follow a familiar pattern. They start from some shady source, are picked up by anti-administration writers, passed on from there to Republican congressmen and come back to us over the air on Axis short-wave broadcasts.

Some of these attacks originate from friendship for fascism and dislike of democracy; others grow out of overheated American partisan politics. The tone and the result often are the same, whether they come from the "vermin press" and handouts or from congressmen like John Taber, the late J. William Ditter of Pennsylvania, Richard B. Wigglesworth of Massachusetts or Fred E. Busbey of Illinois, or from columnists like Frank Waldrop of The Washington Times-Herald, John O'Donnell of The New York Daily News, Frank Kent of The Baltimore Sun, Arthur Krock of The New York Times or from Hearst and Patterson-McCormick editorial writers.

The OWI has been investigating evidence pointing in at least one case to an ugly tie-up between certain Axis sympathizers and certain Republican planners. To stretch this into meaning that all critics of the OWI are Nazi sympathizers or small-time fascists would be criminal nonsense. Some of us who have worked for the OWI know from experience that it is far from faultless. We also know that the realization that Congress and the public were watching our every move often had a healthy effect. All that those convinced of the OWI's essential usefulness ask is that the criticism be open, fair and honest.

It is often impossible to trace the stories about the OWI to their source. Many of them start, it is known, with men like Joseph P. Kamp.

Kamp and his Constitutional Educational League came in for considerable attention in Roy Carlson's "Under Cover." Kamp has been associated for many years with Lawrence Dennis, who boasted publicly that he was America's leading intellectual fascist. He was the publisher and the executive director of The Awakener, while Dennis was its associate editor. In 1939, Kamp distributed from his New Haven office the anti-Semitic forgery known as "the Benjamin Franklin prophecy," which Nazi agents used in this country with little success in 1939 and 1940. Kamp sat at the speakers' table on December 16, 1938, at a luncheon given in honor of George Van Horn Moseley, who was being plugged as the Nazi-Fascist candidate for President.

Last September he took on the OWI in one of his handbills called "Fact-O-Grams," addressed to all United States Senators and Representatives. Among its many fictions appeared the charge that the OWI kept on its payroll at $3,800 a year a 15-year-old refugee. Actually the boy had been used, merely as a voice, in a series of broadcasts over several months and received about $150. Even after this explanation had been publicly given, Rep. Walter C. Ploeser of Missouri repeated the story in a letter to his constituents.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some of the worst slander against the OWI has not even achieved the dignity of print. Before the congressional hearings on the newest appropriation, a 40-page typewritten document turned up in the office of Rep. Roy O. Woodruff of Michigan and was later shown to a Washington Times-Herald writer. OWI officials, who got only a glimpse at it, have been unable to establish its origin. The paper was filled with vicious attacks on the character of OWI personnel.

By word of mouth, the rumor was spread that the OWI signed its telegrams and letters abroad Tito, standing for Totalitarian International Terrorist Order.

It would be useless to repeat and refute all the tales that have been spread about the OWI. In general the charges follow the line that the OWI is overrun with Communists, foreigners and draft-dodgers, that it is inefficient and unnecessary, that it tries to dictate foreign policy and that it campaigns for a fourth term for President Roosevelt. Elmer Davis has taken care of most of them as they came up. Others were dealt with in congressional debates. In the press the delayed denials ordinarily have received far less attention than the charges.

Davis' organization has been saddled with the mistakes made by its predecessors, as well as having its repudiation of these and its own mistakes ignored. Long after Davis had expressed his misgivings about a too strongly pro-Roosevelt article in the overseas magazine Victory, Arthur Krock used the article as the basis for his definition of the OWI's major policy. In the meantime, Robert Sherwood, overseas director, had shown that the office of the President was being used for its dramatic and symbolic value in OWI propaganda and that due attention was being given in publications and broadcasts to democratic political processes and to Republican leaders. The OWI's domestic and overseas activities have been scrambled in the barrage against it—and the wording of the presidential order defining the scope of its work ignored.

Tokyo and Berlin have made good use of this congressional criticism of the OWI.

On October 7 the five Senators who had visited the battle fronts reported in executive session that the OWI staff in India was engaged in "selling the American way of life to the Indians."

On November 2, John O'Donnell wrote:

"Mr. Elmer Davis' Office of War Information has taken up the problem of India in a serious fashion—so serious, in fact, that their broadcasts on FDR's program of freedom from want to the famine-stricken terrain of Calcutta is causing both irritation on Capitol Hill and a bit of eyebrow-raising from Great Britain."

O'Donnell accused the OWI of overspending its budget on such items as 15,000 short-wave receiving sets for India and of planning to distribute a poster of Christ among the Mohammedans, Hindus and Buddhists. Within 24 hours the Hsinking (Japanese-controlled) radio beamed O'Donnell's column back to western North America. The broadcast concluded with a reference to the OWI's overstacked budget on such items as 50,000 short-wave sets for India so that the masses could listen to the overseas broadcasters "hired to preach the doctrine of the four freedoms."

According to the OWI, six sets, not 50,000, were sent to India for the use of its outpost offices and for no one else. The OWI does not broadcast to India and never did. The crucifixion posters were prepared when Colonel Donovan was Coördinator of Information, did reach India by mistake, but were never distributed.

Nevertheless Rep. Marion T. Bennett of Missouri read O'Donnell's column to the House, which prompted Rep. John M. Coffee of Washington to say:

> That column is read by a Japanese agent in this country who flashes the text of it to Tokyo. We do not know by what secret radio that news was flashed—but it got to Tokyo all right—and within 24 hours the Japanese are broadcasting that same column back to us over their own radio.
>
> In other words, the enemy is here in our midst. The enemy is reading lies about our government published in America's free press. And the enemy is broadcasting those same lies on his radio as his own propaganda. I most earnestly draw this matter to the attention of our Army Intelligence, Navy Intelligence and the FBI. . . .

In reporting the late Representative Ditter's threat of an investigation of the OWI last August, the Tokyo radio said: "Ditter is more than just another congressman. He is chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee. The committee works closely with the Party's National Committee headed by Harrison Spangler who is responsible for winning the election."

Representative Taber is a favorite of the German press. Last summer Das Reich quoted him and Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia against the OWI and concluded: "However, the attack of Congressman Taber has caused the American public to look more closely into the OWI, its men and its dollar-devouring machinery." In September the Völkischer Beobachter commented that Davis "with Eisenhower's brother Milton has built up the OWI, employing 63 percent Jews," and said that it used "typical Jewish tricks" by giving film stars high war decorations. It then quoted Taber as accusing Davis of treating America as 3,000 square miles of Hollywood.

Taber, Ditter, Wigglesworth and company brushed off the achievements of the OWI and the praise it received from military men at the front for the part it played in the surrender of the Italian fleet. It meant nothing to them that Admiral Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham, Allied Naval Force Commander, had said: "Tell General McClure [General Eisenhower's Psychological Warfare Branch chief] that they've ac-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

complished in one day what I've been trying to do for three years with the navy."

Nobody suggests that Congress should abdicate its right to analyze and criticize. But these gentlemen should be expected to keep their criticism on the adult basis of known and provable facts, they should be asked to assume, until it is disproved, that the hundreds of conscientious and hard-working men doing the propaganda work are also loyal Americans. You can find duplication, red tape, waste and some nonsense in reviewing the record of the OWI, but less, I venture, than you will find in Congress by reading the Congressional Record debate about it. It makes no more sense to abolish or hamstring the OWI for that reason than it would to abolish or hamstring Congress.

KENNETH STEWART

Foreign Labor in Germany

WARTIME GERMANY has become the rendezvous of Europe's enslaved peoples. By the middle of 1943 more than twelve million foreign workers were employed in Germany—as compared with half a million at the outbreak of the war. This huge foreign-labor force is composed of prisoners of war, civilians deported from occupied countries and laborers recruited in Germany's vassal states. In effect Germany has been "occupied" by a gigantic foreign army of Russians, Poles and Frenchmen, Yugoslavs, Belgians and Dutchmen, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Rumanians and Italians. The social, economic and political problems created by this influx have frequently taxed the ingenuity of the German master.[1] Does this army of foreign workers represent a kind of Trojan Horse inside Germany which might in due time contribute to the overthrow of the Nazi regime?

On the surface, Germany's total mobilization of Europe's manpower reservoir for work in her war industry and agriculture may seem successful. But the terrific losses sustained by the German army on the eastern front, necessitating an endless call-up of fresh reserves and the most ruthless utilization of all conceivable mobilization techniques in the importation of foreign workers, also served to intensify resistance to the Nazi labor draft. When the Germans found that indirect pressure, propaganda and voluntary recruitment failed, they had to resort to compulsory labor service, sudden round-ups of able-bodied men, mass arrests and deportations. Consequently, in many countries the resistance movement today centers in efforts to escape shipment to Germany for slave labor. The French in particular, counting on an Allied landing and the liberation of France, look upon the deportations as a means of weakening in advance their certain participation in the struggle of liberation.

While the Nazis have apparently succeeded in solving Germany's labor-supply problem in agriculture, the reverse is true in industry. The skilled manpower reserves of Western Europe are either exhausted or have become inaccessible, because of increased opposition. Hence the Nazis have been forced to embark on an intensive training program for skilled industrial work among eastern foreign laborers already in Germany. They have adopted this program reluctantly, as they know that in training previously unskilled Eastern workers they inadvertently help Germany's postwar competitors. For these newly skilled workers will constitute an excellent labor reserve for the eastern and southern countries which have long wanted to build up home industries, but always lacked a sufficiently large industrial labor force to do so. In an attempt to increase output and stimulate efficiency, the Nazis, last July, promised loyal eastern workers that on completion of their first year of employment they would receive a premium of 20 percent of their wages, with 30 percent after the second and 40 percent after the third year. After two years of employment they are entitled to a week's leave, and after the third year, to a leave of two weeks at home. Similarly, foreign workers with a record of excellent performance are given the German Medal of Merit. But in spite of these real inducements as well as those only spiritually gratifying, a striking increase in sabotage, traced to foreign workers, has been reported from Germany in the last few months.

The gigantic army of male and female foreign workers in Germany lives chiefly in barracks. Nevertheless, in some districts room had to be made by evacuating part of the local German population and settling it in the east. This has caused growing resentment among the German people which is directed not so much against the foreign workers as against the Nazi authorities who are responsible for this continuous influx. The ever increasing wave of Allied air raids, destroying whole cities and depriving large sectors of the German people of their homes, has intensified the housing shortage. More recently, hundreds of thousands of German peasants, sent into Poland and Russia to colonize occupied territory, have returned, thus increasing the housing problem. Nazi writers, called upon to appease the civilian population, are devoting much time and effort to trying to allay the doubts raised in German minds by the employment of so many foreigners. New methods of control have been devised.

The nature of these methods may be gathered from the following police regulations issued in the city

[1] For an excellent background study see E. M. Kulischer's "The Displacement of Population in Europe," published by the International Labor Office, Montreal, 1943.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Stettin on July 2, 1943. Male and female foreign workers were forbidden to leave the settlement district in which their places of work are located. They have to stay indoors from 9 p. m. to 5 a.m. between April and September, and from 8 p. m. to 6 a. m. between October and March. They are forbidden to use public transportation facilities outside of their working quarters for the purpose of attending social, religious or cultural affairs unless these are officially arranged for foreigners. They may not visit public houses or restaurants, except those specially designated for foreign workers. They are barred from visiting bathing resorts or bathing in the company of Germans, and open-air bathing is allowed only "if there is no danger of offending Germans." The whole population has been called upon to play policeman. In order to facilitate this task, all foreign workers are required to wear identification badges. Ukrainian miners, for instance, may be recognized by the letter "U" sewn on their tunics. Poles are identified by the letter "P." Other workers from eastern territories carry the word "Ost" on the breast of their shirts or, if they are given permission to do so in view of good behavior, on their left sleeve.

But much more difficult than housing and controlling the twelve million foreign workers is feeding them. Germany's slave laborers must at least be given sufficient food to keep them fit for work. But food supplies in Germany are getting shorter all the time. The army requires enormous amounts of foodstuffs. If the army does not claim them, they must be distributed to the growing numbers of air-raid victims and eastern refugees. The local civilian population must have its share. The foreign workers come last. In spite of communal feeding, the normal diet given foreign laborers is insufficient. Undernourishment is the rule, and disease among foreign workers is constantly increasing.

In spite of Nazi efforts to assure rigid separation of foreign workers from German civilians, contacts cannot easily be avoided. Despite police regulations, wrote the well informed Swiss paper, the Arbeiter Zeitung of Schaffhausen, on July 3, 1943, "comradely relations have already been established with German workers in many factoories and in many towns." Similarly, a recent article in the Swedish Göteborgs Handels-och Sjöfartstiding concluded: "It is not so easy to keep Germans and foreigners apart in the country. Although heavy penalties are imposed in order to prevent the *Herrenvolk* from making contacts with foreign workers, the experiences of the last war with regard to prisoners of war are evidently being repeated."

Of all the foreign nationalities now in Germany the Nazis fear none more than the Russians. Take, for instance, the following order of the German High Command of March 25, 1943. The order provided for the segregation of prisoners of war of different nationalities from foreign and German civilian workers in the barracks as well as in working places. Where different categories of laborers are working side by side, they are to be gradually separated. This provision, the order stated, "applies particularly when Soviet prisoners of war and Soviet civilian workers are working side by side." And the order continues with this significant passage: "Captured Soviet officers may under no circumstances be employed side by side with prisoners of war of their own or of other nationalities or with civilian workers." Obviously, the German authorities fear that Soviet foreign workers, especially former officers, whose political astuteness is appreciated, may infect German civilians and other nationals working in Germany with Communist ideas. That the Russians are putting up greater opposition to working under slave-labor conditions is shown by the wages which Soviet prisoners of war are paid in contrast to other nationalities. The Russians get only 40 pfennigs per day, while the traditionally much more despised Poles are paid 70 and other nationalities 90 pfennigs.

The rigid segregation of the Russians is especially significant, however, because it suggests that the Nazis are aware of the possibility of mass revolutionary action on the part of the foreign workers when the war is brought closer to Germany's borders. Hence they have adopted a new policy of dealing with foreign labor in an apparent attempt to placate this potentially explosive group. The new policy was officially announced last October in a speech by Fritz Sauckel, Nazi manpower commissioner, before labor officials meeting in Berlin. Germany, he declared, "respects the foreign worker as a co-worker and human being with spiritual and cultural needs. Germany in fact has respected and acknowledged every European's dignity." This announcement must have been news to the millions of foreign workers who until recently were regarded by the Nazis as the despised representatives of "inferior" races and have now suddenly become "co-workers and human beings."

It is doubtful whether the new policy of internal appeasement will fool either the foreign workers or the German people. It merely betrays the anxiety of the rulers over the presence within the Reich of twelve million human beings who in the main are forced to work, against their will and under the most miserable conditions, for a master they hate. At the present time this workers' army is only an unorganized and unarmed mass of people easily held in check. But if the German home front should begin to crack, if the German people itself should rise against its Nazi rulers, this army might well become an important element of revolutionary action. When that time comes, writes a Swiss newspaper, "the twelve million, more than ever before, will think of their homeland, and no power on earth will be able to prevent them from following its call. Then the hour of the army of foreign workers will strike!"

HEINZ H. F. EULAU

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Fire Insurance Scandal

THE MONEY-CHANGERS who a decade ago were driven from the temple have returned to their old stands. Pressure groups powerful and selfish are once more in control on Capitol Hill. Their lobbyists and their agents in the House and Senate chambers can do as they wish with much of the legislation that is before Congress. The people are forgotten.

On no measure in recent years has the helplessness of the unorganized consumer in face of the organized seller been more painfully illustrated than in the bills to exempt all insurance from the anti-trust laws. Not only is the consumer unorganized but, in this instance, as in so many others, he is uninformed. And it is not his fault. The newspapers, with few exceptions, have not even printed the bare details of the story. Yet the matter has been public business before the courts and Congress for weeks.

On November 28, 1942, a federal grand jury in Atlanta, Georgia, returned an indictment charging 198 stock fire-insurance companies, their trade organization, the Southeastern Underwriters' Association, and 27 individuals with conspiracy to fix and maintain arbitrary and non-competitive rates in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The indictment charged that the members of the Southeastern Underwriters' Association, commonly known as SEUA, fixed premiums and rates on fire insurance sold in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina and Virginia, fixed premiums and commissions of agents, withheld reinsurance facilities from companies not affiliated with them, threatened to withhold patronage from persons purchasing fire insurance from companies not affiliated with SEUA, and that they have maintained policing bureaus in each of the states to strengthen and further the monopolistic practices of SEUA.

The effect of these activities, the indictment said, has been to suppress competition in the sale of fire insurance, to prevent the determination by free and competitive practices of premium rates, and to restrain trade and commerce in violation of Section 1 of the Sherman Act. When the Department of Justice brought the indictment it knew that it was tackling 90 percent of the nation's fire-insurance companies, for SEUA is only one of the great regional monopolies, all of which are represented on the National Board of Fire Underwriters.

The Southern companies, for their part, replied that no offense had been committed by them against the United States because the business of fire insurance is not commerce, and therefore is not subject to the Sherman Act. The federal court for the Northern District of Georgia declared that the companies were right. It cited the *obiter dictum* of Mr. Justice Field, who in 1869, in a decision upholding the rights of the states to regulate insurance, a right which the insurance companies had challenged, declared that "issuing a policy of insurance is not a transaction of commerce." Today, so well satisfied are the insurance companies with state regulation that they wish to perpetuate the Field *obiter* and prevent any interference on the part of the federal government.

The district court handed down its decision on August 5, 1943, and the Department of Justice appealed to the Supreme Court, which since has agreed to review the case. By granting the appeal, the Supreme Court, by inference, at least, indicated that it was not altogether satisfied with the decision of Mr. Justice Field.

The day the Department of Justice took its appeal to the Supreme Court, the fire-insurance lobby went into high gear. It appealed to several members of Congress, including Senator Wheeler of Montana and Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming, to introduce a bill to protect the companies. These two Senators did not fall for the bait, but Senator Bailey of North Carolina and Senator Van Nuys of Indiana, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, did. They introduced a bill affirming the intent of Congress that the regulation of insurance remain within the control of the several states and that the Sherman and Clayton Anti-Trust Acts be not applicable to the insurance business. The bill was a direct attempt to head off the Supreme Court and to protect a monopoly from the laws of the land. In the House, Representatives Hancock of New York and Walter of Pennsylvania introduced similar bills.

The insurance lobby was at work. The New York firm of Ivy Lee and T. J. Ross was handling at least some of the publicity. E. L. Williams, a $100,000-a-year man, took a suite at the Statler Hotel to handle the work from Washington. The National Board of Fire Underwriters showed the way. Suddenly, from all over the country, Senators and Representatives began receiving volumes of mail urging them to support the Bailey-Van Nuys and the Hancock-Walter bills. A number of congressmen who are closely connected with the insurance business were active. Chairman Hatton W. Sumners of Dallas, Texas, headquarters in the Southwest for insurance companies, saw to it that his House Judiciary Committee, to which the Hancock-Walter bills had been referred, was promptly informed as to the merits of the bills.

All this took place before the people knew what was happening. Then the Senate Judiciary Committee began hearings on the Senate bill. At times the testimony and debate were lively. Attorney General Biddle read a startling indictment of the insurance monopoly. So

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

did Attorney General Roy McKittrick of Missouri. Still, only a few newspapers were interested. Members of Congress talked about "states' rights" and discussed the wonders of insurance. They never stopped to think, apparently, that the voters who elected them might receive a substantial reduction in their fire-insurance rates if the monopolies that control the industry were broken. The people, unlike the insurance companies, were unorganized. Even members of Congress who kept their ears close to the ground had no way of hearing the voice of the people. It was drowned out by the insurance lobby, which was functioning from the grass-roots, with agents and their friends all over the country supplying the stimulus.

The insurance companies could afford to spend money to defend a system which had met with their approval. Mr. Biddle told the Senate Committee that the stock fire companies collect annually about one billion dollars, 40 percent of which is used to pay losses and 60 percent for expenses and profits. "The dividends paid to stockholders," he said, "average about one-third of the losses paid to policy-holders." The states, said the Attorney General, have been almost helpless in their attempts to control this great American industry, which, of course, operates across state lines. Also, he said, 116 of the companies indicted in Atlanta are among the 142 companies which contributed "several hundred thousand dollars to bribe the Superintendent of Insurance of Missouri and others to recommend to the United States court the division in their favor of $10,000,000 impounded during litigation involving the reasonableness of fire-insurance rates charged by these companies in Missouri."

Later, Attorney General McKittrick told the committee that if one state undertook to regulate insurance companies they might refuse to do business in that state, thus leaving the people without insurance protection. "The power of the stock fire-insurance companies," the Missourian added, "is great and is used unsparingly to enforce the rules and practices beneficial to the companies and extremely severe on companies that dare to file rates deviating from the trust-imposed rates, in spite of state laws permitting such deviations."

But arguments do not mean much in a Congress ruled by lobbyists and pressure tactics. The only answer is a more powerful lobby, and this the people who are paying the bill for the high fire-insurance rates do not possess. The subcommittee of the Senate committee unanimously reported the Bailey-Van Nuys bill. The House Judiciary Committee, after no public hearings of its own and after only one morning executive session, voted 16 to 5 for the Hancock-Walter bill. In its report, it gave the following as one of its reasons for recommending early passage of the measure: "Enactment of the bill has also been urged by various organizations throughout the nation, such, for example, as the National Association of Insurance Commissioners, the National Association of Insurance Agents, the National Association of Insurance Brokers, the National Association of Commissioners, Secretaries and Directors of Agriculture, the National Grange, the New York Fraternal Congress, the National Negro Insurance Association, various local chambers of commerce, farm bureaus, granges, manufacturing and industrial organizations, mutual and reciprocal associations and the like." Of course. Also, the overwhelming majority of state Governors.

Then something quite unlooked-for happened. Senator O'Mahoney, who had been awaiting the opportune moment, suddenly threw a monkey-wrench into the proceedings. The Senate committee was all prepared to report the bill favorably to the floor. The stage was set. Without any advance notice, the Wyoming Senator, who had conducted the TNEC hearings and had learned the truth about the insurance monopoly, submitted a list of questions which he said the committee should be able to answer before the matter went to the Senate floor. Van Nuys and his supporters were baffled. They could not answer the technical questions submitted by O'Mahoney, who, with very small support, took on the whole committee at once. There was nothing to do but reopen the hearings. The bill went back to the subcommittee and the first witness called was E. L. Williams.

The victory won by Senator O'Mahoney may be only temporary, for the Senators are determined and the majority of the press still has not informed the public of what is happening. But he has frightened the insurance lobby and the congressmen it controls.

On the House side of the Capitol, a forthright minority report was written by Representative Celler of New York and concurred in by Byrne of New York and Russell of Texas. Russell took the matter to the floor with a flaming denunciation of the insurance companies. But his speech went almost unnoticed. The Celler report criticized the bill as "an attempt to secure immunity from prosecution for fire-insurance companies charged with criminal conspiracy to fix rates." "If we pass any of these bills," Mr. Celler wrote, "I would say that we have come to a pretty low level in public decency and morals. It would mean that any special group of defendants in a criminal indictment could successfully come to Congress, be they bootleggers, racketeers, Office of Price Administration ceiling violators, toupe makers, pretzel benders, doctors, lawyers, Indian chiefs, and say 'we should not be prosecuted on a pending indictment'. . . . If the insurance companies are successful in their campaign for these bills, then any defendants in anti-trust suits would be justified in getting similar immunity bills passed."

It's the public be damned all over again.

CARROLL KILPATRICK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

The Poll Tax, Politics and Inflation

AFTER CHRISTMAS we are going to have another Senate filibuster, and you might as well get ready for it now. It will be against the anti-poll-tax bill and will be run by Southern Senators. I wish people could see a filibuster; I wish a picture of it could be taken and shown in the schools as a study in American democracy.

The memory that comes to my mind is of a great empty Senate chamber. As you look down on it from the press gallery the impression is all green carpet and empty desks. One man is speaking—a weazened figure with a low forehead. It is Senator Bilbo of Mississippi. Six other Senators are present. Bilbo is making a speech—that is, he is reading the pages of a Sears-Roebuck catalogue. He is being funny. He is making jokes. In the galleries wondering people lean over, trying to understand. Some are soldiers, taking time off from the war to see their Congress work. Most of them can't figure it out; a few never get over their shocked disillusionment. In the press gallery the wire-service boys shrug their shoulders. They are bored, and their papers are bored. The only way to treat it is in funny stories, and even these have to be brief. Maybe they will get on page 14 of the local newspaper as relief to the genial citizen, who has been shocked by the piled corpses of Tarawa.

The House has voted overwhelmingly to end poll taxes; the Senate would do so in a minute if it got the chance. But cloture can't be applied in the Senate without approval by the archaic two-thirds vote, so a minority of poll-tax Senators, themselves elected by the rotton-borough system of eight Southern states, can thwart the will of the majority by talking the bill to death. The filibuster after Christmas will not be in 1790 in the British Parliament, but right in 1944 in the American Senate. Ultimately, I suppose, the other Senators will grow tired; pressing fiscal matters will come up; somebody will move to put the anti-poll-tax measure aside and after some weeks and half-a-dozen votes the weary Senators will finally give the motion a majority. Bilbo and the Sears-Roebuck catalogue will have scored another victory, and everybody who has tried to make democracy work will have taken another licking.

Courageous Jennings Perry of The Nashville Tennesseean and the Anti-Poll Tax Association are now laying counter-plans and—if you feel mad enough about it—of course you could write a letter to your Senator. It may not do much good, but your conscience might feel easier, next time you think of the Unknown Soldier.

Make no mistake about it, the latest Kentucky defeat to the Democrats was significant, and the prospect of a Democratic victory next fall is pretty cloudy. Always acknowledging that anything can happen and that it is too early to predict, the Democrats are increasingly gloomy and the Republicans progressively more radiant. There is even renewed speculation whether Mr. Roosevelt will run for a fourth term; if he doesn't, of course, the Democrats are completely dished. The more confident the GOP Tories are of victory the less chance has Willkie of the nomination, and the more pressure there is for a "safe" Republican candidate. Harrison Spangler is throwing his influence on the side of Chicago, home of The Tribune, for the convention city. The Republicans don't like the soldier-vote bill, because early polls of overseas servicemen indicate a pro-Roosevelt sentiment. They could not stop the bill in the Senate themselves but were glad to join the Southern Democrats in an effort to emasculate the measure.

The administration is making some headway in stopping the inflation onslaught in Congress. There is a definite reaction to increasing consumer pressure in the Senate. Almost for the first time since the war started Congress is receiving a pronounced, grass-roots consumer-reaction in behalf of holding the price line. Here is the situation in brief:

The House rejected the Treasury $10,500,000,000 tax bill, 200 to 27, and sent to the Senate a measure only one-fifth as large. I have attended Senate hearings on this bill and I believe the committee is pretty well convinced that the House administrative provisions are botched and unworkable. These, at least, will have to be revised. It can be stated dogmatically that the sales tax is out. If professedly "sound money" organs like The New York Times and the Scripps-Howard papers could once reconcile themselves to that and apply their influence, there might still be a chance of higher anti-inflationary taxes.

On the subsidy front, there are definite signs that the Senate farm bloc is losing some Senate support, and I believe a compromise is coming. The House voted down all food subsidies, you remember, 278 to 118. Here again I have been watching the Senate committee hearings and the increasing effect of consumer kicks from back home has been visible in an almost daily softening-up process. Too high credit cannot be given to Raymond Clapper for his powerful pieces, when he stood almost alone among columnists. The pounding of The Detroit News, also, has had a direct influence on the Vandenberg-Taft line.

A rather risky, tentative guess would be that, after an appropriate interval, the cost-of-living committee named by Mr. Roosevelt will bring in a recommendation for revision of the Little Steel formula; Congress will tie the new wage formula into a compromise food-subsidy bill, setting an upper limit on the amount which the government can pay. Of one thing I am confident: whether by veto or otherwise, food subsidies are going to stick; the public pressure for them is at last coming in, and it is growing.

Round-up: If Senator Wheeler goes through with his plan to investigate John Roy Carlson, author of "Undercover," Willkie will probably act as defense counsel. Writers' War Board chairman Rex Stout would be one of Carlson's chief witnesses. . . . O'Mahoney's reversal of the bill to exempt fire-insurance companies from anti-trust laws is one of the most spectacular Senate feats in years. All ready to report the bill out, the Senate Judiciary Committee heard O'Mahoney's representations and instead sent the measure back to subcommittee. Instead of the slick job of passage without publicity, which $100,000-a-year lobbyist Edward L. Williams had engineered, came the present full-scale investigation.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Saroyan and Smith

Get Away Old Man, by William Saroyan. Cort Theatre, November 24, 1943.
Lovers and Friends, by Dodie Smith. Plymouth Theatre, November 29, 1943.

MR. WILLIAM SAROYAN has told us in his prefaces that he understudied Shaw as to methods of getting yourself and keeping yourself in the public eye. Meanwhile there is another Shavian trait that is in his make-up and may have been encouraged by the example of that master. Mr. Shaw has long been recognized as without what, for lack of a better phrase, we might call artistic understanding; for all his gifts and achievements, he does not approach art with the artist's sense. From this proceeds a certain blind willfulness in his work, which is to say, to take an example, if he wants to put in theories or make a scene long, he puts the theories in and makes the scene long, and you can take it or leave it. To do this is only another illustration of the proverb that an artist can never repeat to himself too often, that art is long and life is short. Mr. Shaw can indeed do the thing as he chooses, and it may or may not—and for reasons ultimately within its own nature—go dead on him, either immediately or in a few years.

Mr. Saroyan's work shows a parallel to that. Either he cannot or will not see that a thing is not yet hammered into reliable theatre. He is willful and headstrong and arbitrary, sometimes with an obvious self-consciousness, or even an air of exhibitionism that lacks taste, to put it mildly. The result of this trait, or habit, is that at times he has flights of imagination, abundance, poetry and gayety beyond any other writer in our theatre, and at times he merely peters out and fails his idea, some idea or situation that remains half-baked but has implicit value or originality.

That is what is the trouble with "Get Away Old Man," his new satirical comedy that Mr. George Abbott has produced and directed. This story of a genius, a Hollywood magnate who wants a script out of him, and a sort of dream Madonna who comes to save the genius, is still not written in spots, especially in the climactic scene, where the genius is supposed to be speaking out his whole soul. I happen to like Mr. Saroyan's talent and to find him any way you take him a great relief in a flat theatre. I had rather see "Get Away Old Man," even as it stands, than any one out of ten of the general run of Broadway plays. But I should not seriously pretend that it comes off or expect other people to bother so long as Mr. Saroyan is not going to bother. The play in fact has already closed. Nevertheless I found it very entertaining, as well as an interesting example of the esthetic principle by which farce is so much closer to the poetic than comedy can be.

"Get Away Old Man" would gain at times by a freer and wilder, as it were, kind of directing than Mr. Abbott gives it. His touch lacks a plentiful, reckless, wayward something which the play is partly made of and through which it expresses itself. Mr. Glenn Anders, as the drunken friend of the genius, gave one of those capital performances that we have long seen him do. It is to his credit and to the audience's credit that without any effect of semi-vulgar showing-off and punching points he can win such great recognition and applause. He is one of the best actors on our stage. Mr. Richard Widmark as the genius, a part with a wide range of motivations, emotions and situations but not yet really written in many respects, played with much more understanding than most actors could show. He needed practise at every performance for something at times more flowing, rash and excessive and at times darker and more intense, and for a greater variety in the rhythm or timing of his whole approach to the role. That is real advice said to a young player who is plainly worth advising. Mr. Edward Begley seemed to me good as the film magnate, though some might not agree with me on that. He played the role as farce, which is the way it is written, crazy farce with a kind of inspired core to it.

It must be very disheartening to playwrights and to anybody truly concerned with the theatre when such notable actors as Miss Katharine Cornell, Mr. Raymond Massey, Mr. Henry Daniell and Miss Annie Burr appear to lend themselves seriously to what is like a silly, pretentious version of a fifth-rate novel. It may be a compliment to Mr. Massey's mind if not to his art to say that at times he seems to be embarrassed with what he has to say.

STARK YOUNG

Heaven, American Style

"HAPPY LAND" is one of the sweetest numbers of the Goody Two Shoes series, the one that is so comfortably certain that it is *the* portrait of American life. Since not one thing occurs here that is short of being the contented cow's idea of what she would like her milk to grow up to be, it becomes ever more amazing to me that the people in Hollywood can go on presenting this fantasy that makes sugar seem sour as typical American life. It is the fantasy that every American is schooled in from his first school day, and there should be a New Republic supplement on why we feel it necessary to uphold it, as though it were the flag itself. It makes the soap operas of the radio and "Mary Worth" of the comics look like "Tobacco Road"; and Saroyan's "Human Comedy," which it has ghost-written, or vice versa, seems like a rich, full life.

The central problem in "Happy Land" has to do with a son's death in the war, and his father's being so broken up about it that Old Gramps descends to earth out of Heaven to show him that suffering and pain are also a part of life, and that "as long as American kids can be Boy Scouts and aim to do a good turn every day—as long as they can eat ice cream—go to high school (go to movies like this)—play football—have a picnic in Briggs's Wood—then it'll be worth while. The whole thing . . ." Then the boy's pal returns from sea to take the dead son's place in the family. It manages to include other American points of interest along with the ones Gramps noted. There are the first day of school, block "H" sweaters, the hurdle race (in family movies the hurdles seem to be the great American pastime), graduation exercises, train whistles, a drugstore, not the pool hall or masturbation. I think you will find little in these points of interest that will recall anything to you, since they seem to have been made to satisfy the most suspicious, narrow-minded upholder of American goodness in the world, which I don't suppose you are.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Happy Land" is a movie in which each face is the empty, good-looking one that is associated only with other movie faces, because only they can be so bare of emotional states, can call up so little of the environment (and I don't mean Max Factor) that developed them, can be so inhumanly uninspired and unmoving. Everyone is so careful to be gentlemanly and in good taste that you feel they walk around in dancing pumps. But mainly there is not one moment of it that will strike you as the actuality. When it experiences death it is with a face that is not nearly ugly or terrible enough (though Mr. Ameche's is certainly a pain). And what it does to the Boy Scouts is inhuman.

Now, to turn a sharp corner; because this is, I think, an important movie for how it does what it is saying, as well as for what is said. It is a good movie technically, and even an important one, as far as Hollywood's development goes. It has a great deal of undecorated, solid honesty in its visualizing, and it looks at and paces its material with a homely, unromantic, plodding spirit that the material itself lacks completely. Its refusal to jazz things up by cutting makes it even dull, a monotone. There is continually a promise in this picture—that the same eye and attitude directed at an adult experience of reality will some day turn out American movies that haven't been seen since the silent days.

This picture is like nothing so much as a particularly terrible women's baseball team managed with the Puritan perfection and lack of compromise that could only be Joe McCarthy's. There is an early episode of the father in the garden just after he has received news of his son's death; as he miserably moves back and forth, the camera resolutely moves back and forth with him, keeping stolidly dead center on his face, and achieving a fascinating quality by its exact realization of the movement. Later, as the picture flashes back to the son's growing up, he and his father walk home at night from the city, and again the people are looked at with almost blind devotion, till you get tired of their faces and start watching the night-dark city buildings passing very slowly behind them, a scene that, in spite of what they are talking about, is exciting for being so purely as it would actually be. The last episode, which brings the dead son's sailor pal home, and the only face with any character that has yet appeared, indicates what this technique could produce if it had more faces as natural as his. There are others: several tours taken with the wife (Frances Dee, who has a particularly marvelous quality) through her house; a brief one on the train with a college boy returning home, where the sound image and the visual image combine for one brief moment to catch the exact reality of train-ride rumination.

Like so many recent movies, "Happy Land" has noticed that the people in the English pictures, notably Coward's and "Desert Victory," talked softly, and it therefore has all its members talk softly. It can drive you crazy. Other Hollywood Americana are the fact that, unlike Saroyan's Uticans, "Happy Land's" HEARTfieldians of the male sex may tipple—their intoxicant is loganberry wine, the loganberry being undoubtedly the thing that gets it across as in the soft-drink class; it is okay for Heartfield's upright sons and daughters to kiss one another's foreheads. The only thing I can say is that you can take your choice of not seeing a custard pie, or of seeing an interesting technical performance.

MANNY FARBER

The Bandwagon

Sen. "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina [summarizing his opinion of the General Patton incident]: "He should be removed. This sounds like New Deal business." – *From The Kansas City Star.*

Note that these per-capita figures do not include the 10½ billion dollars additional revenue which Secretary Morganthau [sic] feels each taxpayer can add to his present tax burden. – *From the Tax and Facts Bulletin published by the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade of Philadelphia.*

She [Mrs. George S. Patton Jr.] said, for example, that every boy who comes out of high school in this country should have one year of military training. "It makes for disciplined character," she went on. "And it makes good Americans out of all sorts of odds and ends." – *From Hope Ridings Miller's column in The Washington Post.*

Women are to wear their dresses this winter much tighter. This will save on materials and show their patriotism. – *From The Chicago Tribune.*

Brave New World

Former King Carol of Rumania says he believes the Balkan countries would be happier as monarchies. "A monarchy often is more democratic than a republic," he told a press conference yesterday. . . . "Under a monarchy you have just one large, happy family. The monarch is a sort of father to all and the people come to him with their problems and complaints." – *AP dispatch from Mexico City.*

Don't Look Now

You may rest assured that although everything is possible in this world, it is absolutely impossible that I should lose my reason or have a nervous breakdown. Nothing can hit me. – *From Hitler's Munich speech, as quoted in The New York Times.*

Let 'Em Eat Cake

. . . New Deal administrators in Washington [are] espousing grandiose plans designed to prevent the price of a loaf of bread from rising a penny or two. . . . But who cares today whether a loaf of bread costs 10 or 11 cents? Humanitarianism at the wrong time is demagoguery. – *From an editorial in The Cleveland Plain Dealer.*

Democracy in Action

A democratic duke, Devonshire placed his gold ducal dining service on exhibition (under guard) before a party and allowed his admiring tenants to come and look at it. – *From Life.*

On the Home Front

Fred M. Berry, engineer from the bureau of reclamation at Ephrata, is here preparing a report on elevations to determine if there is any settlement of the earth's crust due to the weight of the water in the lake behind Grand Coulee dam. – *From The Daily Chronicle, Spokane, Washington.*

That All-Out Effort

Carry your bundles willingly and carry them proudly—it's only one of a million occasions for which you'll cherish this Gunther greatcoat of dark Canadian Beaver . . . $1,050. – *Advertisement in The New York Herald Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

The Yugoslav Government

SIR: Heinz Eulau's article on "Europe's Exiled Governments" [November 1] in its references to Yugoslavia is completely wrong. . . . The following takes up only some of the more important misstatements.

The article identifies the current Yugoslav government with the dictatorship group. This is incorrect because the government is composed of men who came in power after the coup of March 27, 1941, in which the old clique was thrown out. All those mentioned as politicians "behind the scenes," Trifunovich, Nincich, Gavrilovich and Jovanovich, have not been in the government for the past fourteen years. Gavrilovich was Ambassador to Moscow in 1941 and Jovanovich, as a college professor, was not in politics. Similarly, as is well known, Mihailovich in 1941 was an obscure colonel in disgrace for his unorthodox military views. He was never a politician or inside the government. Attacking this group of men as "a ruling clique" is a bit far-fetched.

The article stresses their "Pan Serbianism." The author is apparently unaware of the suffering of the Serb people, who have thus far lost more than one-tenth of their population. These "politicians," conscious of their impotence, are deliberately evading any political decisions. It is up to the people to decide what they want after the war, particularly in their relations to the Croats, whose behavior alongside the Nazis made a reunion highly problematic. The do-nothing attitude is more sensible than the sweeping decisions of emigré liberals who are laying out the pattern of the future to suit themselves without a thought to the people's feelings and wishes.

Dr. Ivan Ribar, "the prominent democratic leader" who is the head of "Liberation Congress" opposing the government in Cairo, was definitely identified by Luce of the Associated Press as Ivar Ribar Jr., a well known Communist of long standing. To those who are familiar with the background, it is evident that the Partisans are composed of those of leftist persuasion and of repentant Croats who are now jumping on the Allied bandwagon. For instance, the recent protest of "Chetnik" killing of "Serb Partisan intellectuals" (the list included the writer's brother) was signed by a long list of Partisan "artists and intellectuals." It is of interest that the names were only those of Serbs of known leftist sympathies and of numerous Croats but not a single prominent democratic Serb was included. There is hardly better evidence needed on the composition of the Partisan movement.

There is no proof that Mihailovich is losing ground. His control of eastern Yugoslavia seems still undisputed. The real difference between the two groups is that Mihailovich, after the frightful massacres of Serbian population by the Germans and Croats, is confining his activities to organizational and defensive efforts. Partisans, on the other hand, have "occupied" towns and villages, held "elections" and established new governments. Since they could not hold the territory permanently, this action invited mass repressions upon the return of the Germans. The Partisans just moved on. They are proud of the fact that they have operated over one-third of Yugoslav territory. No wonder that Croatia has a ministry for "devastated regions."

In short, one side is fighting literally a battle for physical survival while the other is interested in political reform even before the war is won. . . .

Morristown, N. J. MILAN D. POPOVIC

SIR: The willful misstatements, distortions and insinuations in Milan D. Popovic's letter remind me so much of the fraudulent and dishonest propaganda disseminated by the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile that I consider a lengthy and detailed refutation a waste of space. Let me just answer two of Popovic's assertions. They concern facts and not opinions. Popovic claims that the politicians mentioned "have not been in the government for the past fourteen years." Is this true? No. All of them were members of the Cabinet constituted on January 12, 1942, under Jovanovich as Premier, and all but Nincich belonged to the revised Cabinet of January 2, 1943. In June, 1943, a new Cabinet under Trifunovich came to "power." All of these men are Serbian nationalists and anti-democrats, altogether disowned by the people of Yugoslavia. Another example of Popovic's distortion of fact is his statement concerning Dr. Ivan Ribar, head of the Anti-Fascist Council, whom Popovic obviously confuses with his son, Lovro Ribar, a Communist. The fact is that Dr. Ribar, the Partisan movement's civilian leader, is the same Dr. Ribar who was president of Yugoslavia's Constituent Assembly in 1920-21.

In the realm of opinion may I point out that the Serb-Croat rift which, according to Popovic, makes a reunion of the two peoples "highly problematic," has been successfully closed in the Partisan movement, a living expression of the unity of all South Slavs. But the Serbian fascists and reactionaries of all stripes are unwilling to concede this. Every reader interested in the Yugoslav problem should read Louis Adamic's recent book, "My Native Land," where he will find a complete and convincing exposure of the Mihailovich legend and the pretensions of the Yugoslav Government-in-Exile.

New York City HEINZ H. F. EULAU

War, Poetry and Criticism

SIR: I really must congratulate you upon Theodore Spencer's "How to Criticize a Poem" [The New Republic, December 6]. It puts the Indian sign on so much contemporary "critical" light.

What a heady little character is Sgt. William Abrahams! I really must rise to the defense of the lady so ungallantly attacked. Presumably Miss Davidman chose to entitle her collection "War Poems of the United Nations" because that is what they are. She did not entitle it, "The Only War Poems Worthy of Notice in the United Nations." Mr. Abrahams has a wide knowledge of the moderns and "knows all the right people." Nevertheless, there *are* other points of view. As for Merrill Moore's remark, from the South Pacific; it is merely what most of us have thought, and I'm sure Dr. Moore would be amazed by having it put forward as "more valuable than all the high-flown false banners," etc., etc. Some of us have written of the war, to the best of our ability, because we were strongly moved by it and impelled to say something. Let Sergeant Abrahams either "jine the cavalry" or climb down from that high horse!

New York City WILLIAM ROSE BENÉT

SIR: Dr. Spencer's exegetical article on "How to Criticize a Poem" is no doubt interesting to those who are interested in that kind of thing, but he has made several grave errors of scholarship. In the first place, what he calls the proto-dynamic response should more properly be denominated proto-kinetic apperceptibility, as Dr. Spencer would realize if he had ever

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taken the trouble to read the semantic studies of Zoilus the Lesser (not to be confused with the better known Zoilus of Alexandria). The matter is further discussed in Allen Tate's refutation of Kenneth Burke's reply to John Crowe Ransom's attack on Yvor Winters, and is, I believe, alluded to in Professor John B. ("Goodwin") Watson's treatise on the pragmatic imagination of John ("Governor") Dewey. It may also have been mentioned in a series of articles by Sidney Hook and Max Eastman, "The New Failure of Nerve," published by Partisan Review, q.n.v.

Moreover, it is generally established by now that the Aeneid was not written by Cato, except Books XV, XVI and some 300 lines of Book XX, generally excluded from textbooks because of their pornographic character. Nor is it true that the poem begins with Aeneas on the site of Carthage. Dr. Spencer is probably thinking of the Pseudo-Aeneidos, or Fanny Hill, variously ascribed to Apollonius of Rhodes, or, with greater warrant, to Parthenius or Lucan. Otherwise, Dr. Spencer's excellent article has made many valuable points, and I hope some enterprising publisher like Bennett Cerf will soon publish the Oedipus Rex of Euripides as well as Dante's Iliad in his admirable Pocket Book series.

Jackson Heights, N. Y. ROLFE HUMPHRIES

King Carol and CBS

SIR: Your editorial of November 29 on ex-King Carol omits one significant point. The Columbia Broadcasting System invited the former Rumanian Minister, Charles A. Davila, to speak directly after Carol made his statement and, when Davila declined, invited, at his suggestion, Dr. Louis Bozin, Secretary General of the Rumanian American Alliance for Democracy, a leader of the anti-Carol movement in this country.

It is Columbia's policy to present both sides of controversial issues as fairly as possible. In this case the opportunity was offered to reply to Carol immediately—which meant that virtually all who heard his statement would have heard the reply.

As you know, Carol's broadcast did not occur, so no reply could be made. But for the sake of the record, the plans we made should be known to your readers.

New York City GILBERT SELDES

Who Will Lead the Veterans?

SIR: In the New Republic correspondence section of November 8, B. W. L. made a suggestion, for a liberal postwar veterans' organization, that should be acted upon before the end of the war. . . . We need such an organization, but we should be careful of our leadership. We would defeat our purpose if we chose to follow men who failed to lead the veterans of World War I to anything constructive or widely influential in determining the course of the nation in making firm the peace they had dearly bought. We need men who are living this war and who have an eye for searching out the weaknesses of the men who are winning it. For though we can win the war only by fighting, the peace will have to be won by more difficult, but less appealing, methods.

Nor would we be justified in accepting labor leaders to organize the servicemen. The labor unions have persistently earned a bad, and not unfounded, reputation. They have not shown themselves broadminded enough to solve controversial problems. They are a clique, not a cross-section, of the public. They are proof that labor is badly in need of new and better leadership.

The leaders of the servicemen should rise from their ranks and from the officers, preferably from those who have seen action. . . . We need a clearing house of opinion, a way to communicate with each other. And a few more suggestions.

Will Rogers Field, Okla. E. W. K.

For World Organization

SIR: Many of your readers who believe in a democratic world organization and are looking for a means to make Congress understand that the American people are ready to assume the responsibility of such an organization, will be interested to know that Free World groups are being formed all over the country for this purpose.

One of the activities of these groups is a ballot consisting of the following three questions:

1. Do you believe the United States should belong to an international organization with authority to settle disputes peacefully between nations?
2. Should such an organization have available a military force to be used solely to stop military aggression and maintain peace?
3. Should the United States take the initiative in calling the United Nations together to form such an organization now?

The Greenwich Village Group of American Free World, the first in New York City, is acting as guinea pig for an intensive ballot campaign, which we hope will be a pattern for a nation-wide effort. Congressmen will be kept informed of the growing totals of the poll.

The Village is being placarded with colorful posters and ballot boxes, placed at strategic points. Churches and other organizations are coöperating through their congregations and memberships. The Washington Square Colleges of New York University are participating through their student bodies.

Following is a list of regional headquarters of the American Free World Association. We urge all New Republic readers who want to help to mobilize mass public opinion behind the idea of world organization to communicate with the nearest regional office for information as to how to start a local group or to join one already in existence:

New York Chapter: Anita Willcox, Secretary, 8 West 40th Street, New York, New York.

Pittsburgh Chapter: Dr. F. C. McKee, Chairman, 145 Union Trust Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Midwest Regional Director: Mrs. T. F. McAllister, 1520 Milton Street S. E., Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Los Angeles Chapter: Dr. Frederick Roman, Chairman, 214 Loma Street, Los Angeles 26, California.

Seattle Chapter: Mrs. Sterling Peterson, Chairman, 5051 Prince Street, Seattle, Washington.

Hollywood Chapter: 411 N. La Cienega Boulevard, Los Angeles, California.

ROSE UNGER, Director of Publicity,
Greenwich Village Group,
New York City American Free World Association

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Frank A. Manny, of Sarasota, Florida, a subscriber since the founding of The New Republic, writes us the pleasant fact that "probably in no earlier period have the general principles of The New Republic seemed to state my own views and those of the friends I value most as they do now." Mr. Manny takes us to task on another matter, however. The conviction came to him recently "as I read the summary sentences disposing of the questions dealt with" in a letter in the Mail Bag. He feels that "The New Republic seems less open to criticism, questions and suggestions than it has been at various earlier periods." We shall watch it, Mr. Manny. These are no times to feel infallible.

I. Wissner of New York City writes to us apropos of the editorial, "Congress and the Cabinet," which appeared on November 29. Mr. Wissner writes: ". . . With Secretary Hull's precedent-instituting speech to Congress, perhaps the coming decade will yet envisage a transformation of the functions of the Cabinet."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

Rediscovery of America

IN A VERY REAL SENSE Columbus did not discover America, did not even discover the New World. I mean the true America, the New World of a living people and a living civilization. Of course he wasn't looking for it—for either the land or the people. He was looking for China, the Spice Islands, India. And all the Spaniards and all the other Europeans that followed—although they soon learned that they weren't dealing with Indians from India—took little interest in the fact that they were discovering a people and a way of life quite as much as a piece of land.

Even as finders of mere land, Columbus and his followers came too late. Men out of Asia had discovered America ten to twenty thousand years before, and in these hundreds of centuries they had built up a civilization that was strange, arresting, fecund, and both beautiful and horrendous. From time to time a few of the Spaniards became interested in recording a little of it, though not nearly so interested as most of the Spaniards had been in destroying it. But it is really only in the past century that white men have taken up the task which their forerunners should have been doing—the rediscovery of America.

At first it was a task for laymen, since there was no science of archeology until the turn of the century. Many of the laymen were distinguished: Baron von Humboldt, pioneer of them all; Prescott, who made the conquests live again; Lord Kingsborough, giving £25,000—and his life—to achieve the publication of nine huge and handsome volumes; and, above all, an American traveler named John L. Stephens, who struggled through three thousand miles of Central American jungles to marvel at Mayan ruins and to bring back two brilliantly illustrated best-sellers which were exciting, provocative and singularly wise about the past of these people and their works. Between these men and their books, a larger proportion of the reading public of a hundred years ago knew about the Maya and the Aztecs and the Incas than knows about them today.

Now comes another layman to add significantly to the rediscovery. He is a layman of Stephens' insight, Stephens' indomitability, Stephens' imagination. Hungarian born, Pál Kelemen[1] has labored for ten years as a private citizen of the United States to bring forth a magnificent interpretative record in "Medieval American Art." It is more than an interpretation of the art of prehistoric America, because he has taken care to give the general reader—to whom the book is frankly addressed—the background of history and culture from which this art sprang.

The task of interpreting to the modern mind the architecture, sculpture and handicrafts of these ancient and remote people isn't an easy one. Kelemen knows this. He points out that we understand instinctively the arts of China or of India or of Egypt because this art has always been with us—both in itself and through the borrowing of details and even whole ideas by the Greeks, and their slow transfer to our own culture. On the other hand, the art of the New World was created in complete isolation both from ours and from that of the Orient. Furthermore, the Spanish conquests cut off this civilization almost completely. Its art died, or, at best, remained in a state of suspended animation. Today we must breathe new life into these curious, aloof "antiquities" by striving to understand why and how they were created, and what the processes were by which their esthetic form developed.

Conscious of the problem, Kelemen has been able to attack it sanely and constructively. There is more to his approach than a careful analysis of each esthetic object, a clear statement of its esthetic purpose and the means used to achieve it. Throughout the book he leads us from the simple beginnings—which are easy to comprehend—to the complex final products. Nowhere is his method more successful than in his remarkable and unique chapter on that remarkable and unique product of a stone-age civilization—carved jade. Almost as much might be said for his handling of all the outcroppings of this versatile culture.

In its volume of text and its volume of plates, "Medieval American Art" is almost completely inclusive and certainly necessary and invaluable. There are smaller volumes that treat of the general subject. There are others that cover a single culture more thoroughly. But nowhere can you find in one publication 960 pictures of the essential, the great and the significant art-products of the prehistoric American Indian, and nowhere so wise an analysis of them.

Kelemen's wisdom—and I use the word in the wide, humanistic sense—is the outstanding feature of his text. A trained historian of Continental art, he has no fondness for the clichés of art criticism. His descriptions are as straightforward as they are illuminating. His judgments are soundly considered and clearly put. His grasp is full, pervasive. His memory is so retentive and his sense of organization so lively that his illustrations march straight through the history of the growing arts of architecture, sculpture, pottery and the rest, and yet wheel and countermarch swiftly and easily to bring us quick cross-comparisons of one art or one culture to another culture or another art.

In the selection of the 960 objects illustrated, Kelemen's taste is exceptional and remarkably inclusive. Indeed, the importance of pre-Columbian art is attested not alone by the quality of these illustrations, but also by the fact that, though they are chosen entirely for their esthetic values, they cover practically the whole of man's civilized activity in ancient America, and thus tell his story. I can quarrel with Kelemen only for omitting the colossal heads and the altar of "Madonna and Child" from the La Venta culture, the thrones of Ecuador, the stone bowls of the much neglected California Indians, and particularly that masterpiece of demonism, the statue of Coatlicue, the Earth Goddess, in the Mexican National Museum.

I should like, also, to see more analysis of the orientation of public buildings to one another which puts these ancient cities beside the cities of Egypt, and far ahead of

[1] Medieval American Art, by Pál Kelemen. New York: The Macmillan Company. 2 vols; 720 pages, illustrated, $22.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

those jumbles which were Athens and Rome; more discussion of that amazingly suave yet strong art of the Totonacs; more comparison of the true and enduring masonry of the Incas with the Maya's fragile and tilelike application of slabs of stone to concrete, the slabs unbonded and their joints unbroken; more of the mystery of the Mound Builders; more of those molds and clay stamps which seem almost upon the edge of a machine age; more of the two cultures—Tarascan and Early Chimu—where, alone in all America, pottery became a reportage of common life, and where the art-for-art's-sake of Europe and the art-for-God's-sake of both continents gave way to the art-for-life's sake of two curious peoples. But I'm afraid I should ask for no more than Kelemen's remarkable work gives us of insight into what the author rightly calls "this fascinating mixture of primitivism and maturity."

Obviously if Columbus had delayed his voyage till America had achieved iron and the wheel—perhaps a matter of only a century—a far more remarkable civilization would have awaited him. Then, too, if he had come a hundred years later, he might have brought with him the more inquiring and apprehending minds of the full-blossomed Renaissance. It is a virtue of Kelemen's book that it helps so much to redress the destructive stupidity of Spanish conquistadores and Spanish priests.

KENNETH MACGOWAN

"Theoretic Blight"

From Economic Theory to Policy, by E. Ronald Walker. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 273 pages. $3.

IN RECENT YEARS the great preoccupation among economists has been the refinement of pure theory. During the early days of political economy there were many provoking discussions of the political application of theoretical principles. Corn laws, monetary devices and factory legislation were thought to be legitimate questions for economic discourse. But the stormy field of politics, in which these matters inevitably were settled, was hardly the place for sustained academic reflection. The economists retired to their university halls and built a stately system of theory that detached the political from political economy.

Professor Walker, writing with a minimum of professional jargon and a maximum of common sense, tries to demonstrate that economics can be the practical guide to everyday affairs its founders meant it to be. He shows how modern orthodoxy has converted the economist into a quiescent observer of world affairs. As a science, economics permits the dissection and classification of the driving forces in history. But pronouncements on policy must not be made. The economist must not, for example, offer advice on measures designed to alleviate abhorrent economic conditions; he must be the apotheosis of self-righteous neutrality.

The involved ideas and cloistered language of theoretical economics have made it incomprehensible to both statesmen and laymen. We can appreciate the theorists' sincere wish, says Walker, to put economics on a sound logical foundation. But we cannot understand their assertion that technology and psychological factors are to be excluded from the realm of scientific economics. The outcome of these self-imposed limitations is a violent distortion of reality. According to orthodox theory, imaginary producers solve delicate technical problems by lightning calculations of pleasures and pains. Complex calculus formulas which automatically compute minute variations in supply and demand elasticities become the essence of economic life. Hypothetical models of static societies in perfect equilibrium replace the bewildering realities of a living civilization. The irrational emotions that make man so plastic are reduced in modern analysis to the principle of the maximization of monetary gain.

The author justly characterizes this kind of thinking as "theoretic blight." He probes the method and assumptions of contemporary economics with more than ordinary sharpness. Professor Walker, although an Australian, exhibits a keen insight into the nature of the American economy. Yet he does not dismiss entirely the theoretical approach. He underscores, rather, the need for a better theory than we have now. Drawing on the contributions of sociology, history, statistics and psychology, Walker seeks to widen the range of economic analysis to include what he calls "extra-market operations." In addition to the time-honored deductive technique, economics must support its doctrines with facts. A useful social science, it is emphasized, must study the real nature of human behavior. Economic activity is not concerned with just supply, demand and price. Modern capitalism is subject to many social and political strains that react on economic change. When economists understand that, they will be able to give us a realistic theory of economic development.

Yet not all of them have ignored the problem of social growth. Professor Walker reminds us that Marx was one of the first to view economics as a fluid movement of human forces. Despite the crudeness of his assumptions, Marx accounted not only for purely market phenomena but for non-market activities as well. His lifelong effort to discover the internal "laws of motion of capitalism" was essentially an exploration in dynamic economics. The author's review of other theories of development, unfortunately, is so fragmentary as to make a cohesive synthesis most difficult. His treatment of such writers as Schumpeter, Veblen and Keynes is much too thin. And Walker shows no familiarity with the theories of Alvin Hansen.

Hansen and Keynes both stirred up a veritable hornet's nest in economic circles with their analysis of consumption habits and saving patterns. The notion that a certain amount of investment was necessary to sustain particular levels of national income was pregnant with practicable implications for public policy. Here was an economics that really traversed the ground from principles to practice.

Instead of evolving his own theory of social growth, Walker is content to list various categories of change. The elements that determine the flow of economic life, he says, are population trends, productive capacity and monetary conditions. A thoroughgoing knowledge of these factors, it is argued, would enable us to foresee future trends by simply extending past experiences. This may be true, but classification, as Veblen pointed out, is a poor substitute for the study of cause and effect.

Walker recognizes "theoretic blight" when he sees it. He knows what intellectual lumber must be discarded if the economist is to participate actively in human affairs. Yet he has been unable to present a genuine science of society of his own making.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notable Books: 1943

Fiction

The Apostle, by Sholem Asch. Putnam's. $3.
All the Year Round, by Robert M. Coates. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.
Winter's Tales, by Isak Dinesen. Random. $2.50.
My Days of Anger, by James T. Farrell. Vanguard. $2.75.
Citizen Tom Paine, by Howard Fast. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $2.75.
Never Call Retreat, by Joseph Freeman. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.
The Ministry of Fear, by Graham Greene. Viking $2.50.
Capricornia, by Xavier Herbert. Appleton. $3.
Arrival and Departure, by Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. $2.
Men from Nowhere, by Jean Malaquais. L. B. Fischer. $2.50.
The Darker Brother, by Bucklin Moon. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.
Dark Wedding, by Ramon Sender. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.
Lily Crackell, by Caroline Slade. Vanguard. $3.
The Big Rock Candy Mountain, by Wallace Stegner. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.
At Heaven's Gate, by Robert Penn Warren. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.
The Wide Net, by Eudora Welty. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.
Indigo, by Christine Weston. Scribner's. $2.50.
Tucker's People, by Ira Wolfert. L. B. Fischer. $3.

Poetry, Criticism and Belles-Lettres

Romanticism and the Modern Ego, by Jacques Barzun. Little, Brown. $2.75.
The Heritage of Symbolism, by C. M. Bowra. Macmillan. $3.75.
Four Quartets, by T. S. Eliot. Harcourt, Brace. $2.
A Choice of Kipling's Verse, edited by T. S. Eliot. Scribner's. $2.50.
A Certain Measure, by Ellen Glasgow. Harcourt, Brace. $3.
The World of Sholom Aleichem, by Maurice Samuel. Knopf. $3.
Genesis, by Delmore Schwartz. New Directions. $3.
E. M. Forster, by Lionel Trilling. New Directions. $1.50.
New Poems: 1943, edited by Oscar Williams. Howell, Soskin. $2.75.
The Shock of Recognition, edited by Edmund Wilson. Doubleday, Doran. $5.

Biography and Memoirs

Pioneer to the Past, by Charles Breasted. Scribner's. $3.50.
Clemenceau, by Geoffrey Bruun. Harvard. $3.
Connecticut Yankee, by Wilbur Cross. Yale. $5.
Lee's Lieutenants, Vol. II, by Douglas S. Freeman. Scribner's. $5.
Bound for Glory, by Woody Guthrie. Dutton. $3.
Exploring the Dangerous Trades, by Alice Hamilton, M.D. Little, Brown. $3.
George Washington Carver, by Rackham Holt. Doubleday, Doran. $3.50.

The New Republic salutes these
"Notable Books of 1943"

A Certain Measure "For its elegance of style, for its insight into the method of a great novelist and for its sheer intelligence, this is a book to be read."—Harry Sylvester, *The Commonweal* $3.50
ELLEN GLASGOW

Four Quartets "These subtle, magnificent religious poems contain more beauty and sense than any book within recent memory."—*Time* $2.00
T. S. ELIOT

The Wide Net One of the stories in this collection, *Livvie Is Back,* has just been given the 1943 O. Henry Memorial Award. $2.50
EUDORA WELTY

At Heaven's Gate "Not only a stirring novel but one of the most profound interpretations that has yet been made of Southern life."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune* $2.50
ROBERT PENN WARREN

All the Year Round Mr. Coates's memorable stories, which have appeared in *The New Yorker* and other magazines, are here presented in book form for the first time. $2.50
ROBERT M. COATES

The Battle Is the Pay-Off An actual combatant tells the first great story of our ground forces in action. $2.00
CAPT. RALPH INGERSOLL

Sword of Bone "The mental history of a man who loathed war, who loved life in a highly civilized way, and who still was a good soldier."—Marcus Duffield, *The New Republic* $2.50
CAPT. ANTHONY RHODES

Singapore Is Silent "His picture of Singapore and the Malay Peninsula is wonderfully inked in."—Ira Wolfert, *The New Republic* $3.00
GEORGE WELLER

The Wright Brothers Authorized by Orville Wright. "An honest and home-spun account of two honest and home-spun careers which have made world history."—Max Lerner. *Illustrated,* $3.50
FRED C. KELLY

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY
383 Madison Avenue New York 17, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

William Butler Yeats, by Joseph Hone. Macmillan. $6.
The Autobiography of a Curmudgeon, by Harold L. Ickes. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.
The Wright Brothers, by Fred Kelly. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.
Jefferson: The Road to Glory, by Marie Kimball. Coward-McCann. $4.
The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes, edited by Max Lerner. Little, Brown. $4.
Heathen Days, by H. L. Mencken. Knopf. $3.
Memoirs of a Superfluous Man, by A. J. Nock. Harpers. $3.
Maxim Litvinov, by Arthur Upham Pope. L. B. Fischer. $3.50.
The World of Yesterday, by Stefan Zweig. Viking. $3.

The War

America's Navy in World War II, by Gilbert Cant. John Day. $3.75.
Moscow Dateline, by Henry C. Cassidy. Houghton Mifflin. $3.
Back Door to Berlin, by Wes Gallagher. Doubleday, Doran. $2.75.
Appeasement's Child, by Thomas J. Hamilton. Knopf. $3.
They Shall Not Have Me, by Jean Hélion. Dutton. $3.
Into the Valley, by John Hersey. Knopf. $2.
Mother Russia, by Maurice Hindus. Doubleday, Doran. $3.50.
The Battle Is the Pay-Off, by Capt. Ralph Ingersoll. Harcourt, Brace. $2.
They Call It Pacific, by Clark Lee. Viking. $3.

Selected by The New Republic
As a Notable Book of 1943

MAN THE MEASURE

A New Approach to History

By ERICH KAHLER

The spiritual Odyssey of Mankind, from primitive times to our own age—world history interpreted as the development of the human spirit.

Lewis Mumford: No other single book penetrates so deep into the origins of the present crisis or offers so many clues from past experience towards its resolution.

Albert Einstein: I will not feel that I have finished this book before having pondered every line of it. $5.00

PANTHEON BOOKS, INC.
41 Washington Square, New York 12

The Day of Reckoning, by Max Radin. Knopf. $1.75.
Sword of Bone, by Anthony Rhodes. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.
God Is My Co-Pilot, by Col. Robert L. Scott Jr. Scribner's. $2.50.
Guadalcanal Diary, by Richard Tregaskis. Random. $2.50.
The Last Days of Sevastopol, by Boris Voyetekhov. Knopf. $2.50.
Miracle in Hellas, by Betty Wason. Macmillan. $2.75.
Singapore Is Silent, by George Weller. Harcourt, Brace. $3.
Attack Can Win in '43, by Max Werner. Little, Brown. $1.75.
We Cannot Escape History, by John T. Whitaker. Macmillan. $2.75.
One World, by Wendell Willkie. Simon and Schuster. Paper, $1; cloth, $2.
Battle for the Solomons, by Ira Wolfert. Houghton Mifflin. $3.

General

My Native Land, by Louis Adamic. Harpers. $3.75.
Mainstream, by Hamilton Basso. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.50.
The Republic, by Charles A. Beard. Viking. $3.
American Political Parties, by Wilfred E. Binkley. Knopf. $3.75.
Business as a System of Power, by Robert A. Brady. Columbia. $3.
Subject India, by H. N. Brailsford. John Day. $2.50.
Road to Peace and Freedom, by Irving Brant. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.
The Spanish Labyrinth, by Gerald Brenan. Macmillan. $3.75.
The English People, by D. W. Brogan. Knopf. $3.
Under Cover, by John Roy Carlson. Dutton. $3.50.
Falange, by Allan Chase. Putnam's. $3.
The Land of the Great Image, by Maurice Collis. Knopf. $3.
The Growth of American Thought, by Merle Curti. Harpers. $5.
The Year of Decision, by Bernard DeVoto. Little, Brown. $3.50.
The Problem of India, by R. Palme Dutt. International Publishers. $3.
Makers of Modern Strategy, by Edward Mead Earle. Princeton. $3.75.
Plowman's Folly, by E. H. Faulkner. Oklahoma. $2.
South American Journey, by Waldo Frank. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.
The Unemployed, by Eli Ginzberg and Associates. Harpers. $4.
An American Diary, by Samuel Grafton. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.
Which Kind of Revolution? by W. D. Herridge. Little, Brown. $1.75.
The Hero in History, by Sidney Hook. John Day. $2.50.
Education for Freedom, by Robert M. Hutchins. Louisiana. $1.50.
Evolution, by Julian Huxley. Harpers. $5.
Man the Measure, by Erich Kahler. Pantheon. $5.
Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time, by Harold J. Laski. Viking. $3.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Between Tears and Laughter, by Lin Yutang. John Day. $2.50.
U. S. Foreign Policy, by Walter Lippmann. Little, Brown. $1.50.
Brothers Under the Skin, by Carey McWilliams. Little, Brown. $3.
Mount Allegro, by Jerre Mangione. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.
Psychiatry in War, by Emilio Mira, M.D. Norton. $2.75.
McSorley's Wonderful Saloon, by Joseph Mitchell. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $2.50.
The Peace We Fight For, by Hiram Motherwell. Harpers. $3.
The Legacy of Nazism, by Frank Munk. Macmillan. $2.50.
New Zealand, by Walter Nash. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.50.
The Nature and Destiny of Man, Vol. II, by Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's. $2.75.
The Spirit of American Economics, by J. F. Normano. John Day. $3.50.
New World A-Coming, by Roi Ottley. Houghton Mifflin. $3.
Tenants of the Almighty, by Arthur Raper. Macmillan. $3.50.
What to Do with Italy, by Gaetano Salvemini and George La Piana. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $3.50.
Battle Hymn of China, by Agnes Smedley. Knopf. $3.50.
The Tragedy of European Labor, 1918-1939, by Adolf Sturmthal. Columbia. $3.50.
A Short History of Russia, by B. H. Sumner. Reynal and Hitchcock. $3.75.
Roots in the Earth, by P. Alston Waring and Walter Magnes Teller. Harpers. $2.50.
The Century of the Common Man, by Henry Wallace. Reynal and Hitchcock. Cloth, $1.50; paper, 75 cents.

From the Still Center

The People from Heaven, by John Sanford. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 232 pages. $2.50.
The Outside Leaf, by Ben Field. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock. 237 pages. $2.50.

UNDER THE GLARING white night of war these two novels read like notes on the farthest periphery of our universe. I cannot think of two serious books so distant from the morning paper, and they are refreshing for this very reason; but one must note that neither one touches, even remotely, on the intellectual and spiritual anguish that has gripped all men as serious as their authors since Madrid first stood against the Beast. This fact gives them an air of impenetrable remoteness, almost as if they spoke paralogically. They are both skillful novels; they are both sensitively felt, with a strong inward strain of poetry; they both contain some sloppy writing and some pretty grievous posturing. Yet both men are trying to get on paper something that comes out of their innards, and such men are always worth listening to, in any age.

Mr. Sanford's novel takes its title—and a good title it is—from the cry that was raised among the Indians when Columbus' ships first landed on this continent: "Come, see

Selected by The New Republic as a Notable Book of 1943

THE PROBLEM OF INDIA

by R. PALME DUTT
Author of "World Politics," "Britain in the World Front"

A brilliant British-Hindu journalist and editor presents a thorough exploration of every factor in the Indian problem and a proposal for a successful solution which would strengthen Indian national unity within the framework of the United Nations. $2.00

Order from your bookseller or directly from the publishers.

Send for our catalogue of serious, worthwhile books of lasting importance.

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS
381 Fourth Avenue • New York, N. Y.

A SUPPLEMENT FOR THE FUTURE

JOBS for ALL

Full Employment After the War

A Special 32-page *Nation* Supplement

Presenting a plan on which labor, farmers, and small business can unite to save the country from needless depressions.

By THOMAS R. AMLIE

Single Copy Price, 10 Cents

Special rates for copies in bulk of 100 copies or more on request

The Nation • 55 Fifth Ave. • New York 3, N. Y.

Please send me ..... copies of your special supplement, "Jobs for All," for which I enclose remittance of $.....

Name.....

Address.....

City.....*State*.....

NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the people from Heaven!" Four hundred and fifty years later these people from Heaven are living in Warrensburg, New York, in the southern region of the Adirondacks, in a mean village, in a mean way, cramped, narrow and turned-in. These are Cabot's men, these are Drake's men, these are the Mayflower's men; these are the men who were once the Puritans, the zealots, the visionaries and the hard strong "independents"; these are the men who made the Revolution—and now they live in Warrensburg. Mr. Sanford never permits us to forget where they came from, who they once were and what they might have been; his book is full of flashbacks to the past—sometimes quotations from the diaries of the old voyagers, excerpts from the ships' logs, sometimes a few pages of poetry (rather *à la* Stephen Benét); he keeps constantly before the reader the Promise of the New World, and what it has become in Warrensburg. I have lived in Warrensburg and I know the smell of it. That smell—of chemical toilets, unventilated stores, mills, shoddy houses, Schroon River marshlands—is in this book; it is all here, and you can even hear the planks rattle on the bridge to the poor farm, where the inmates dig a half-dozen graves in the fall to have them ready before the ground freezes. That town is fastened down in this book until it can barely squirm.

Mr. Sanford's characters are people who have lost the taste for life and are seeking substitutes—hard drinking, promiscuity, money-changing, and evil-doing for the sheer pleasure of evil-doing. ("I should like to live in this country with thee, my heart," de Ségur wrote to his wife during the Revolution; "believe me, it is better than ours for people who love virtue.") Eli Bishop, old before forty, ratlike, crafty, ruthless, degenerate, is the town boss; the people from Heaven cringe before this twisted, lecherous little man because he owns the property, has the cash. Only the old doctor and the splendid Negro woman, America Smith, dare to stand up against the evil he does; and finally the Negro woman, the only person in the book worthy of her ancestors, shoots him dead.

It is clear that Mr. Sanford thought hard about this book and wrote it the hard-thinking way. His technique is arresting and every page has a savor and quality of its own. He might have revised strenuously here and there; it is perhaps not fair to quote against any writer such a sentence as: "That made him so passionate his hair stood up like a lot of matches," but it is not untypical of the occasional sloppiness that is evident here. And it might be added that if Mr. Sanford falls short of his high purpose in this book, it is because he has elected to end it in a way so melodramatic as to be out of keeping with the subdued tone of the rest.

Ben Field's "The Outside Leaf" is a more conventional book, totally lacking the improvisations of Mr. Sanford's novel, but it is no less strong in savor and feeling. A story of the soil, the action takes place on the broadleaf tobacco farms of the lower Connecticut Valley. Moe Miller, a tough-tender young giant of few words, takes over the farm from his father, a scholarly Orthodox Jew, who has let it run into debt. Moe does not share any of the orthodoxy of his parents and has no more feeling for his own race than for the *goyim* of the surrounding countryside; he cares only for tobacco and works in the field from dawn to sundown, with help if he can get it, alone when he can't. Mr. Field tries to paint his hero as a self-sufficient, powerful,

The New REPUBLIC

PRESENTS SOME

★ SPECIAL ★ CHRISTMAS ★ OFFERS ★

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New REPUBLIC

PRESENTS SOME

SPECIAL CHRISTMAS OFFERS

Here's a happy solution to your Christmas Shopping Problem . . . give gifts that live the year around—worthwhile magazines and books. On these two pages you will find special inducements to renew your own subscription and give Christmas gifts to your friends. See the tempting bargains of important books and other magazines. Note especially the reduced rate of $3.00 a year for men and women in the armed services (all restrictions on Christmas gifts of magazines have been removed.)

We will supply you with attractive gift announcement cards and envelopes.

Because of wartime slowness of the mails, we urge that you make your selection at once. You'll find convenient order forms on the next page.

OFFER NO. 1
$8.00 or $11.00
Two one-year subscriptions to The New Republic for $8.00, or three for $11.00. Your own subscription may be included.

OFFER NO. 2
$3.00
Special Subscription Rate for Members of the Armed Forces, The New Republic $3.00 per year.

OFFER NO. 3
$9.50 $7.00 $7.00
One year of The New Republic, Harper's, and Atlantic (regularly $14.00) all for $9.50. Or Harper's with The N R for $7.00. Or The Atlantic with The N R for $7.00.

OFFER NO. 4
$7.50
One year of The New Republic, and Free World (regularly $9.00). Both for $7.50.

SEE PAGE 863

GIVE GIFTS THAT LIVE THE YEAR AROUND

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

single-minded man of earth, but Moe does not emerge from the portrait as anything but a sullen, overdriven adolescent. The character of the young, warm, red-headed Polish-Irish *shicksa*, Mary Foley, is far more successful. The whole novel is taken up by the way in which she and Moe, over a season of raising a crop of broadleaf, finally get together. It is a story as old as the first immigrant ships, but one that takes on new life and warmth from the farm setting which Mr. Field knows so well and describes in such bold, rich, strong language. The book has too many repetitious scenes and the middle part lags badly, but the end, in which the orthodox family finally becomes reconciled to the warm-blooded young *shicksa* whom their only son has married, is told with great beauty and sensitivity. There are few novels about a farm in which the feeling for the soil, for the crop growing, is conveyed so lovingly.

JOHN HYDE PRESTON

A Reader's List

LONELY MIDAS: THE STORY OF STEPHEN GIRARD, by Harry E. Wildes (Farrar and Rinehart, $3.50). This is a carefully documented and definitive study of one of America's eccentric and misunderstood millionaires. Girard's business activities, family broils, domestic infidelities and public charities are described in considerable detail and with complete objectivity. The Philadelphia merchant emerges as a powerful figure, avaricious and unscrupulous on occasion but possessing a realistic social vision. Mr. Wildes's biography, in addition to being an unsentimental portrait of a remarkable man, is especially interesting for the light it throws upon the activities of American merchants during the decades immediately preceding and following the Revolutionary War.

RANDOLPH BOURNE, by Louis Filler (American Council on Public Affairs, $3). In this rather cautious biography, Mr. Filler has tried to clarify the legend built up around the figure of Randolph Bourne, but his study, while occasionally illuminating, is not a particularly searching evaluation of the man or his writing. Mr. Filler, from time to time, hazards critical judgments (he points out, for instance, the dangers which lurk behind Bourne's idealistic position and his drastic rejection of pragmatism), but his book is useful chiefly as an informative study of Bourne's life and times. A treatment of Bourne which will assess his true dimensions is still needed.

WERE THE MINORITIES TREATIES A FAILURE?, by Jacob Robinson, Oscar Karbach, Max M. Laserson, Nehemia Robinson and Marc Vichniak (Institute of Jewish Affairs, $2). This comprehensive study tends to show how the defunct League of Nations and its member states endeavored to tackle the most difficult problem of ethnic minorities. The book covers the time from the Paris Peace Conference, when the system of minorities treaties was de-reformation of a strengthened League of Nations. If the new League must have a police force to implement its sanctions, so much the better. Senator Ball gives us only the skeletal outlines for a new international political organization, but he knows full well the many non-political problems that must be solved. And he assures us that a solution would be forthcoming if nations would begin to talk to one another with confidence. The pamphlet is a refreshing example of the better kind of congressional thinking.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY, by Joseph H. Ball (World Peace Foundation, 50 cents). Senator Ball's co-sponsorship of Senate Resolution 114 is adequate testimony of his sincere advocacy of a workable program for world political security. In this interesting booklet he offers many powerful arguments to buttress his position. Realizing that neither purely national measures nor a delicate balance of *Machtpolitik* interests will successfully keep the peace, he suggests the vised, to the start of the Second World War, when it ceased to operate. Contrary to the popular belief, the Minorities Treaties system was not a failure *per se*, but became impracticable just as "every other international institution collapsed in the present universal disaster," and the authors assert that it was "an experiment that could not but share the fate of the political organism in which it lived—the League of Nations itself." While Germany abused this instrument for the protection of minority rights to foster internal disunity in countries where German minorities lived, Poland and other minorities states paralyzed the international machinery by intimidating and discouraging potential complainants. This scholarly treatise is furnished with a valuable bibliography, the text of the minorities treaty with Poland, the memorandum of the Committee of Jewish Delegations at the Peace Conference at Paris and a chronological table of events in matters of minorities protection.

Contributors

KENNETH STEWART, author of "News Is What We Make It" (Houghton Mifflin, 1943), returned last summer to the staff of the newspaper PM after an absence of nearly two years, during which he successively attended Harvard as a Nieman Fellow, wrote his book and served in the News Bureau of the Office of War Information in Washington.

CARROLL KILPATRICK is the Washington correspondent of The Birmingham News and Age-Herald.

KENNETH MACGOWAN is a well known Hollywood motion-picture producer, associated with Twentieth Century-Fox, whose hobby is archeology.

BEN B. SELIGMAN is with the Office of Price Administration in New York City.

JOHN HYDE PRESTON, the author, among other books, of "Revolution: 1776" and "The Liberals," is living in New Canaan, Connecticut, and working on a novel.

5¢ EACH LITTLE BLUE BOOKS
Send postcard for our free catalogue. Thousands of bargains. Address: HALDEMAN-JULIUS CO., Catalogue Dept. Desk M-1003, GIRARD, KANSAS

WANTED

BY INEXPERIENCED citizen graduate physician of foreign university, position where clinical experience can be gained. Remuneration secondary. Address: Box 405, The New Republic.

LANGUAGES

BARGAIN PHONOGRAPH COURSES. All Makes. Booklet R. LANGUAGE SERVICE, 18 East 41st St., New York City 17, N. Y.

SOUTH WIND
WOODBOURNE, N. Y.
INFORMAL ADULT CAMP—PRIVATE LAKE
ALL WINTER SPORTS
OPEN FOR CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S

LITERARY ADVISER

MARY DOUGLAS. Experienced Literary Adviser. Criticism, editing, revision, research. Theses, articles, novels, books. 430 West 119th St., New York City 27, N. Y. Telephone: UN 4-0400.

LITERARY SERVICE

TREATISES, RESEARCH PAPERS, SPEECHES. Special Articles, reviews, promptly prepared to requirements of busy professionals. Our extensive experience available at moderate rates, with assurance of scholarly serviceable result. AUTHORS RESEARCH BUREAU, 516 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Order your books—all books—mailed anywhere in the U. S. A.
POSTAGE FREE
from NEW REPUBLIC BOOKS
40 E. 49th St., New York 17, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED